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SWAHILI PHONETICS

By A. N. TUCKER AND E. O. ASHTON

(Continued)

VOWEL SOUND CHANGE

131. It has been found convenient to discuss vowel sound change under two heads:—

Vowel Harmony—in which change in vowel quality takes place, though not in syllabic quantity.

Contraction, Coalescence and Elision—in which the vowel, while often retaining its quality, may lose its syllabic quantity.

A. Vowel Harmony

132. Vowel Harmony is found principally in the relationship between roots or stems and their affixes. Sometimes it is the vowel in the affix which is affected, sometimes it is the vowel in the stem. The best examples of vowel harmony are to be found with verb stems and their suffixes,

The vowels in certain verb derivative suffixes:

133. The suffixes concerned are the Prepositional, the Neuter, the Causative, the Conversive, the Intensive, the Static, the Potential and certain Passive suffixes—also the various compounded forms of these suffixes, either with each other or with other suffixes like the Reciprocal.¹

The vowel of the suffix concerned harmonizes with the vowel of the penultimate syllable of the parent verb stem. In dissyllabic verbs this is the root vowel, in polysyllabic verbs this may be the vowel of another derivative suffix.

134. Suffixes containing *front* vowels:—

-ia -iza -ika -ifa -iwa, etc.

-ea -eza -eka -efa -ewa, etc.

With such suffixes the harmony is as follows:—

135. If the penultimate syllable of the parent verb contains -a-, -i- or -u-, the suffix begins with -i-. Thus:—

¹ The terminology used here is that of the Standard Dictionary, but is not the intention in this work to relate suffixes to their appropriate labels; therefore translations of the derivative forms will only be given occasionally.

zaa (bear)	gives:—	zalia, zaliwa, zalika, zalifa, etc.
pigana (fight)	gives:—	piganiwa, piganifa, piganika, etc.
piga (beat)	gives:—	pigia, pigiwa, pigika, etc.
kimbila (run away)	gives:—	kimbilia, kimbiliza, etc.
funda (instruct)	gives:—	fundifa, fundifwa, etc.
nunua (buy)	gives:—	nunulia, nunuliwa, nunulika, etc.
epua (remove)	gives:—	epulia, epuliza, etc.

Note that the Stative of *vaa* (put on clothes) is *vika* as well as *valika*, cp. *valia* (Prep.)

136. If, however, the penultimate syllable of the parent verb contains -e- or -o-, the suffix begins with -e-.

enda (go)	gives:—	endea, endeka, endefa, etc.
pendeza (please)	gives:—	pendezea, pendezewa, pendezefa, etc.
ona (see)	gives:—	onea, oneka, onewa, onyefa, etc.
ondoa (remove)	gives:—	ondolea, ondolewa, ondoleka, etc.

137. In verbs of Arabic origin, the suffix usually begins with -i-, and -e- is heard only after the vowel -e-.

*staarabu (be civilized)	gives:—	staarabika, staarabi/a, etc.
*fikiri (consider)	gives:—	fikiria, fikirika, fikirwa, etc.
*rudia (return)	gives:—	rudia, rudika, rudifa, etc.
*hofu (fear)	gives:—	hofia, hofika, hofwa, hofifa, etc.
*samehe (forgive)	gives:—	samehea, sameheka, samehewa, etc.

Compare **suluhu* and *selehi* (improve) with Causative forms **suluhifa* and *selehefa* (reconcile) respectively.

138. Monosyllabic verbs take suffixes in *-i-* or *-e-* according to no apparent rule, though *-i-* is the more common vowel.

<i>la</i> (eat)	gives:—	<i>lia, liwa, lika, lifa</i> , etc.
<i>ja</i> (come)	gives:—	<i>jia, jika</i> , etc.
<i>fa</i> (die)	gives:—	<i>fia, fiwa, fifa</i> , etc.
<i>wa</i> (be)	gives:—	<i>wia</i> or <i>wea</i> .
<i>tfa</i> (fear, dawn)	gives:—	<i>tfea, tfewa</i> , etc.
<i>pa</i> (give)	gives:—	<i>pewa, peka</i> , etc. ¹

139. Suffixes containing back vowels:—

-ua, -uza, -uwa, -uka, -ufa, etc.
-oa, -oza, -owa, -oka, -ofa, etc.

With such suffixes the harmony is as follows:—

140. If the penultimate syllable of the parent verb stem contains *-a-*, *-i-*, *-u-* or *-e-*, the suffix begins with *-u-*. Thus:—

<i>kama</i> (squeeze)	gives:—	<i>kamua</i> (wring).
<i>pinda</i> (bend)	gives:—	<i>pindua</i> (overturn), <i>pinduka</i> , etc.
<i>funga</i> (tie)	gives:—	<i>fungua</i> (untie), <i>funguka, funguza</i> , etc.
<i>lewa</i> (be drunk)	gives:—	<i>levuka</i> (get sober), <i>levufa</i> .

141. If, however, the penultimate syllable of the parent verb contains *-o-*, the suffix begins with *-o-*.

<i>tfoma</i> (piece)	gives:—	<i>tfomoa</i> (draw out), <i>tfomoza</i> , etc.
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142. Note that the Conversive of *vaa* (put on clothes) is *vua* (take off clothes) not *vaua*, with *vuka, vulia, vulifa*, etc.

Observation:

143. It is particularly important to note that the quality of the vowel in the suffix is dependent on the quality of the vowel which immediately precedes it, and does not necessarily harmonize with the vowel of the verb *root*.

Compare:—

<i>epa</i> (dodge)	giving:—	<i>epea, epeka, epefa</i> , etc.
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<i>penda</i> (love)	giving:—	<i>pendea, pendeza</i> , etc.
<i>lowa</i> (be wet)	giving:—	<i>loweka, lowekwa</i> , etc.

with:—

<i>epuka</i> ¹ (avoid)	giving:—	<i>epukia, epukifa</i> , etc. (not <i>epukea, epukefa</i>)
<i>pendana</i> (love one another)	giving:—	<i>pendanifa, pendaniswa</i> , etc. (not <i>pendanefa, pendanefwa</i>)
<i>lowana</i> (get wet together)	giving:—	<i>lowanifa</i> (not <i>lowanefa</i>).

The influence of the imperative suffix -ni.

144. When the Imperative plural suffix *-ni* is added to the Imperative stem ending in *-a*, this vowel is assimilated to *-e-*.²

<i>e'nda</i> (Go !)	(sg.)	<i>ende:ni</i> (Go !)	(pl.)
<i>la</i> (Eat !)	(sg.)	<i>le:ni</i> (Eat !)	(pl.) ³

In verbs of Arabic origin there is no assimilation, though *-e-* is sometimes introduced.

* <i>tu:bu</i> (Repent !)	(sg.)	<i>tubu:ni</i> (pl.)
* <i>same:he</i> (Forgive !)	(sg.)	<i>samehe:ni</i> (pl.)
* <i>ru:di</i> (Return !)	(sg.)	<i>rudie:ni</i> or <i>rudie:ni</i> (pl.)

Note that this assimilation does not take place before the Locative suffix *-ni*, as in some other Bantu languages (notably Zulu and Sotho).

<i>fa'mba</i> (plot of ground)	<i>famba:ni</i> (loc.)
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The influence of the perfect suffix (archaic).

145. Although in modern Swahili the Perfect is indicated by means of the prefix *-me-*, there exist in old poems, etc., a number of examples of a Perfect suffix *-ile* or *-e*. In some cases this suffix has caused sound change in the vowel of the verb stem. Taylor p. 166, records:—

<i>nalilele</i>	(I was asleep)	from	<i>lala</i>
<i>yasee</i>	(it remains)		<i>saa</i>
<i>yuwene</i>	(he has seen)		<i>ona</i>
<i>yunendeme</i>	(has followed me up)		<i>andama</i>
<i>p'ete</i>	(I have obtained)		<i>pata</i>
<i>vyembete</i>	(they cling to)		<i>ambata</i>
<i>nimeze</i>	(I have finished)		<i>mala</i>

¹ cp. *epua* in §135.

² This rule does not hold in Mombasa Swahili.

³ *ku:la* and *kule:ni* preferred.

¹ The Standard Dictionary also gives Prepositional form *pia* or *pea*, but this form is seldom heard.

while Miss Bryan¹ has discovered:—

pembe	from pamba	(adorn)
pende	panda	(mount)
simeme	simama	(stand up)
kutene	kutana	(meet)
vee	vaa	(wear)
kele ²	kaa	(sit)
fuetene	fuatana	(accompany)
engeze	angaza	(lighten)
ketele ²	kataa	(refuse)

Whether this sound change has been brought about by a contracted form of the Ur-Bantu Perfect suffix *-ile*, with shifting of stress, e.g. *mali:le* > *mali:e* > *me:lie* > *me:l̥ye* > *me:ze*, or whether it is due to the transposition of the *i* element of the suffix into the verb stem, after elision of the *l*,

e.g. *lali:le* > *lali:e* > *lai:le* > *le:le*,

is a question for philologists to settle.³

For the effect of this suffix on consonants, see § 305.

B. Contraction, Elision and Coalescence

146. When two vowels come into juxtaposition, it is usually the first which undergoes sound change, if any. The sound change is conditioned by two factors:—

The quality of the vowel concerned—

Only the vowels *i*, *u* and *a* undergo sound change, and these vowels behave differently according as they occur in a stem or in a nominal prefix or a pronominal prefix or in a verb tense prefix.

The position of stress in the breath group—

This factor is very important, and there are three conditions of stress which should be noted:

(a) Stress on the first of the two vowels in juxtaposition:

e.g. *li:a* (weep), *ku:a* (grow), *xa:a* (bear)

(b) Stress on the syllable preceding the two vowels:

e.g. *ki:pya* (new—thing), *pi:gwa* (be beaten)

¹ The 'Archaic' Perfect Tense in Old and Modern Swahili. (BSOS 1937).

² Note reappearance of 'submerged' *-l-*.

³ See Berger: Die mit B. -ile gebildeten Perfektstämme in den Bantusprachen, pp. 226-268 (ZES 1938).

(c) Stress on the second of the two vowels in juxtaposition, or on some subsequent syllable:

e.g. *mi'ndo* and *miende:le:o* (progress) (pl.)

mwe'ndo and *mwende:le:o* (progress) (sg.)

maende:le:o (progress) (pl.)

147. Under stress conditions (a) and (b) the behaviour of vowels is consistent, but under stress condition (c) it presents a problem that has exercised many orthographists in the past. The Inter-territorial Language Committee has spent much time on the matter, and its conclusions are embodied in Johnson's *Standard Dictionary* and Hellier's revision of Steere's *Swahili Exercises*, as a guide to the future writing of the language. Even so, however, there are many anomalies, and the last word is far from being said. The subject was revived and rediscussed in consecutive numbers of the I.L.C. Bulletin in 1939, 1940 and 1941, without any definite conclusion being arrived at.

In the following sections no attempt is made to prescribe any particular spelling, but spellings have been incorporated from various sources where they give a clue to the various pronunciations that have been heard.

Stress condition (a)

148. If the stress is on the first vowel, the resultant sound is always dissyllabic.

Examples with word stems.

i *ki:u* (thirst), *kuli:a* (to weep), *kulili:a* (to weep for), *kili:o* (weeping), *usili:e* (don't weep).

u *t/u:o* (book), *ndu:i* (small pox), *ku:u* (big), *nunu:a* (buy), *kinunu:e* (Buy it).

a *ta:a* kind of fish, *uza:o* (offspring), *kutwa:a* (to take away), *kitwa:e* (Take it away).

Examples with nominal prefixes.

ki- *ki:-a* (door bar)

vi- *vi:-a* (door bars)

u- *u:-o* (scabbard)

mu- *mu:-a*¹ (sugar-cane)

ma- *ma:-i* (eggs) (Mombasa dialect)

Pronominal and verb tense prefixes are not found in this context.

¹ or *mu:wa*.

Stress condition (b).

In word stems :

149. If the stress is on the preceding syllable, *i* and *u* are almost invariably contracted into *y*¹ and *w* respectively, and *a* is elided.

i *vi:pya* (new—things), *ki:mya* (silence), *ku-tfa:fyā²* (to sneeze)

u *ku:tfwa* (to set—of sun), *m:bwa* (dog), *ku-pi:kwa* (to be cooked)

a compare *kupaka:a* and *kupa:ka* (to anoint) with change in word stress.

In pronominal prefixes :

150. Here the prefix vowels are elided, except in the case of the prefixes *i-* and *vi-*, where contraction to *-y-* takes place.

i- *hi:y-o* (those—trees)

i- *hi:y-o* (that—house)

vi- *hi:vy-o* (those—things)

na:y-o (with them)

na:y-o (with it)

na:vy-o (with them)

li- *hi:l-o* (that—egg)

zi- *hi:x-o* (those—houses)

ki- *hi:tf-o* (that—thing)

na:l-o (with it)

na:x-o (with them)

na:tf-o (with it)

u- *hu:-o* (that—tree)

u- *hu:-o* (that—flower)

na:-o (with it)

na:-o (with it)

ku- *hu:k-o* (there)

mu- *hu:m-o* (in there)

wa- *ha:-o³* (those—people)

ya- *ha:y-o* (those—eggs)

na:-o³ (with them)

na:y-o (with them)

pa- *ha:p-o* (there)

Nominal and verb tense prefixes are not found in this context.

Stress condition (c).

151. If the stress is on the second of the two vowels, or on some succeeding syllable the resultant sound may be :—

¹ But note **du'nia* (world) and **gu'nia* (sackcloth).

² Also *kiafia* according to Binns.

³ Here the entire *wa-* prefix is elided.

a dissyllable,

a diphthong,¹

a semi vowel plus a vowel (following the contraction of *-i-* and *-u-* to *-y-* and *-w-*),

a monophthong (following the elision of the first vowel or, in the case of *a*, its coalescence with the second vowel).

It is here that the various orthographies have shown such confusion, since individuals are apt to pronounce differently in these contexts, or the same individual may pronounce differently at different times. The confusion is most pronounced in the case of nominal prefixes.

In the following sections the recommendations of the I.L.C., represented by Johnson's Dictionary and Hellier's edition of Steere's "Swahili Exercises," are compared with spellings found in Madan's and Binns' Dictionaries.

In word stems :

i

152. Where *i* is concerned the three main lexical authorities are in agreement that the semi-vowel *-y-* occurs after labial consonants only.

Examples from Johnson :—

i **tiara* (boys' kite)
**ziara* (tomb)
**hiari* (choice)
siafu (driver ant)
liliana (weep for each other)
pyoro (untrustworthy)
fyonza (suck)
fyata² (hold between legs)
fyatua (let off trap)
fagia³ (sweep)
vyaa⁴ (be born)

but :— **biashara* (trade), *piani* (loc. of *pia*=top)

u

153. Where *u* is concerned, most authorities appear to hear the semi vowel *-w-* in words of Bantu origin, except before a 'submerged'

¹ Since Swahili writing does not distinguish between dissyllables and diphthongs, examples of diphthongal pronunciation by our informants will be given in footnotes.

² Madan also gives *fiata*.

³ *fyagia* according to Binns.

⁴ Ramadhani pronounces a diphthong here *viā:a*.

consonant ; in words of Arabic origin *-u-* is mostly heard.

Examples from Johnson :—

<i>u</i>	<i>pwea</i>	(get hoarse)
	<i>bwana</i>	(master)
	* <i>bweta</i> ¹	(box)
	<i>mwaga</i>	(spill)
	<i>ny(w)ele</i>	(hair)
	<i>ny(w)eleo</i> ³	(pore)
	<i>gwia, guia</i>	(grasp)
	<i>twaa</i> ⁴	(take away)
	<i>fuata</i>	(follow) ('submerged' l)
	<i>uawa</i> ³	(be killed) ('submerged' l)
	<i>juana</i>	(know each other) ('submerged' w)
	* <i>duara</i>	(windlass)
	* <i>huika</i>	(come to life)
	* <i>suezi</i>	(soft iron)
but :—	* <i>swali</i> ⁵	(question)

a

154. Where *a* is concerned, the resultant sound is dissyllabic in words of Bantu origin :—

Examples from Johnson :—

a *paaza* (grind coarse)
paua, pauka, pauliwa (from *paa* = ascend)

But note : *paaza* or *paza* (lift up voice).

In words of foreign origin it may be a dissyllable or a diphthong or (with contraction or coalescence) a monophthong.

Johnson gives both **aasi* and **asi* (= disobey),
 **salaam* and **salamu* (greeting), **fauka* and **foko* (more than).

Compare also the pronunciation in **sau:ti* (voice) with that in **skauti* (boy scout).

In *nairo:bi* (Nairobi) the sound is usually a diphthong.

In nominal prefixes :

i

155. In the nominal prefixes *ki-*, *vi-*, the ruling of the I.L.C. may be deduced as follows :⁶

¹ Cp. Binns *bueta*.

² Cp. Binns *uwawa*.

³ Cp. Binns *nueleo*, but *nywele* (hair).

⁴ Ramadhani pronounces a diphthong here :—*tuā:a*.

⁵ Cp. Binns *suali* (tardiness).

⁶ 'Swahili Exercises' pp. 34, 35, 36.

In nouns :— *ki-* and *vi-* before the vowel *-i-*.

ki- and *vi-* before other vowels in foreign words, or when they are essentially formative prefixes, or when confusion with another word might result.¹

tf- and *vy-* in all other cases.

In adjectives :— *tf-* and *vy-* before all adjective stems beginning with a vowel, except *-iygi*, *-ingine*.

Note how these conclusions compare with those of other authorities.

	[Johnson]	[Madan]	[Binns]
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kiini</i> (kernel)	<i>kiini</i>	<i>kiini</i>
	* <i>kiatu</i> (shoe)	<i>kiatu</i>	<i>kiatu</i>
	<i>kiazi</i> (potato)	<i>kiazi</i>	<i>kjazi</i>
	<i>kioo</i> (mirror)	<i>kioo</i>	<i>kioo</i>
	<i>choo</i> (privy)	<i>choo</i>	<i>choo</i>
	<i>kienge</i> (small torch)	<i>kienge</i> , change	change, kienge
	<i>chembe</i> (arrow)	<i>kiembe</i> , chembe	chembe, kiembe
	<i>chema</i> (good)	<i>chema</i>	<i>chema</i>
	<i>kingi</i> (much)	<i>chingi</i>	<i>kingi</i>
	<i>kingine</i> (other)		<i>chengine</i>
<i>vi-</i>	<i>viini</i> (kernels)	<i>viini</i>	
	* <i>viatu</i> (shoes)	<i>viatu</i>	<i>viatu</i>
	<i>viasi</i> (potatoes)	<i>viasi</i>	<i>viasi</i>
	<i>vioo</i> (mirrors)	<i>vioo</i>	<i>vioo</i>
	<i>vyoo</i> (privies)	<i>vyoo</i>	
	<i>vienge</i> (small torches)	<i>vienge</i>	<i>vyenge</i>
	<i>vyembe</i> (arrows)	<i>viembe</i>	<i>vyembe</i>
	<i>v(y)ema</i> (good)	<i>v(y)ema</i>	<i>v(y)ema</i>
	<i>vyepesi</i> (easy)		<i>viovu</i> (rotten)
	<i>vingi</i> (many)		<i>vingi</i>
	<i>vingine</i> (other)	<i>vingine</i>	<i>vyengine</i>

156. In the nominal prefix *mi-* the ruling is :

In nouns :— *mi-* before all vowels ;

In adjectives :—*my-* before all vowels, except with *-iygi*, *-ingine*

¹ Compare : (Johnson) : *kielezo* (explanation) < *elea* (be cleat), *chelezo* (buoy) < *elea* (float).

Compare thus :—

[Johnson]		[Madan]	[Binns]
<i>mi-</i>	miiba (thorns)	miiba	miba
	miiko (spoons)	miiko	miko
	miaka ¹ (years)	miaka	myaka
	mialamu (end of cloth)		mialamu
	miayo (yawn)		miayo, myayo
	mioyo (hearts)	mioyo	myoyo
	myeusi (black)		mieusi
	myororo (soft)		
	mingi (many)		mingi
	mingine (other)		

Note in *myombo* (a creeper) and *myunani* (an ancient Greek), the *m-*, being a prefix, is syllabic : *m-yo'mbo*, *m-yuna:ni*.

u

157. Where the nominal prefix *m(u)-* is concerned, most authorities hear the semi vowel *-w-* except before *-u-*, where opinion is divided. Note the elision of *-u-* in certain words.

[Johnson]		[Madan]	[Binns]
<i>m(u)-</i>	mwivi (thief)	mwivi	mwivi
	mwana (child)	mwana	mwana
	mwoga (coward)	mwoga	mwoga, muoga
	mwuaji (killer)	mwuuaji, muuaji	
	muumba, (creator)	mwumba,	
	mwumba	muumba	
	mwumbaji (God)	mwumbaji	muumbaji
	mwema (good)	mwema	mwema
*mwami-	(trust-)		mwaminifu,
nifu	worthy)		muaminifu
mume	(male)	mume	mume
mwaka	(year)	mwaka	mwaka
*mwujiza,	(miracle)	mwujiza	muujiza
muujiza			
muungo, (joint)		mwungo,	
mwungo		muungo	
mungu, (a god)		muungu, m'ngu,	
muungu		mwungu, mungu,	
		mungu, muungu	
		mngu	
moto	(fire)	moto	moto

¹ Ramadhani pronounces a diphthong here :—*mā:ka*.

moshi	(smoke)	moshi	moshi
moyo	(heart)	moyo	moyo

158. Where the nominal prefix *u-* is concerned, there is great confusion among all authorities, who write sometimes *u-*, sometimes *w-* and sometimes *uw-*.¹

[Johnson]		[Madan]	[Binns]
<i>u-</i>	wimbo (song)	uimbo, wimbo	wimbo
	wizi, uizi (theft)	uizi	wivi, uizi
	uuaji (bloodshed)	uuaji	
	ume (male nature)	ume, uume	ume
	wembe (razor)	wembe	wembe
	uele (sickness)	uele, wele, uele, uwele	uele
	uelekevu (attention)	welekevu	uelekevu
	wega (cowardice)	woga	woga
	uovu (rottenness)	uovu	uovu
	uonyevu (admonition)	uonyevu	uonyevu
	wanda (finger's breadth)	wanda	wanda
	uwanda (open space)	uwanda	uwanda, wanda, uanda
*uaminifu	(faithfulness)	uaminifu, waminifu	uaminifu
wanga ²	(arrowroot)	wanga, uwanga, uanga	wanga, uwanga
uanga	(a witch cult)		

159. Except in a few cases the infinitive prefix *ku-* is not contracted in the spelling. Where adjectives are concerned, however, the I.L.C. recommends contraction before all vowels ('Swahili Exercises' p. 99), and this seems to be the view of the other authorities also.

¹ On the whole *uw-* is found with stems beginning in *w-* or 'submerged' *w-*, though this can by no means be regarded as a general rule. In fact the only rule postulated : 'u- before a vowel becomes w-' (Swahili Exercises p. 100) is broken several times in the list of examples which follow it.

² Ramadhani pronounces it *uā'nga*.

[Johnson]		[Binns]	[Madan]
<i>ku-</i> kuiga	(to imitate)	kuiga	kuiga
kuuza	(to sell)	kuuza	
kuona	(to see)	kuona	kuona
kuambia ¹	(to tell)	kuambia	kuambia
kwanza	(to begin)	kwanza	kwanza
kwisha	(to finish)	kwisha	kwisha
kwenda	(to go)	kwenda	kwenda
koga ²	(to bathe)	koga	kuoga
but: kuendesha			kwendelea kuendeleza
kwema	(good)	kwema	kwema

160. Note that stems beginning with *w-*, when preceded by the prefix *mu-*, usually lose the *w-* and behave like stems beginning with a vowel. This may sometimes occur with the prefix *u-*, but never with the prefix *ku-*.

[Johnson]		[Madan]	[Binns]
<i>m(u)-</i> mweza	(one who is able)	mweza	mweza
mwinda	(hunter)	mwinda	muwinda, m'winda
mwele ³	(millet plant)	mwele	
mwaa,	(dwarf)	mwaa,	mwaa
muaa ³	palm)	muaa	
<i>u-</i> uwele	(millet)	uwele	wele
uwezo	(capability)	uwezo	uwezo
uwinda	(hunting)	uwinda	uwinda
uwindo,	(hunting)	windo	
windo			
uwongo	(falsehood)	uongo,	uongo
	uwongo, wongo		
<i>ku-</i> kuweza	(to be able)		
kuwinda	(to hunt)		kuwinda

a

161. Where *a* is concerned, in the prefixes *wa-*, *ma-*, *pa-*, the resultant sound is usually dissyllabic. In certain words⁴ (over which all authorities are in agreement):—

a may be elided before *-a-*, *-e-*, *-o-*.

a may coalesce with *-i-* to form *-e-*.

¹ Note: *kwamba* (even if) always with *-w-*.

² Note: *pakuogea* (bathing place), *chakogea* (bath).

³ The *m-* is not syllabic here. Plural: *miwele*; *miaa*, *miwaa*, *miyaa*.

⁴ Including all adjective stems beginning with a vowel.

Examples from Johnson:—

<i>wa-</i> waamu	(brothers in law)	but:—wana (children)
waendelezi	(progressive people)	but:— wenzi (companions)
waoga	(cowards)	
waombaji	(beggars)	
waume	(males)	
waumba	(creators)	
waimbaji	(singers)	but:—wevi (<wa- ivi) (thieves)

Adjectives:— *wema* (<wa-ema) (good)
wengi (<wa-ingi) (many)²
wengine (<wa-ingine) (other)

<i>ma-</i> maamuzi	(arbitration)
but:— mambo	(affairs)
maendeleo	(progress)
maonyo	(warnings)
maume	(males)
maige	(young locusts)
but:— meno	(<ma-ino) teeth)
meko	(<ma-iko) (hearths)

Adjectives:— *mororo* (<ma-ororo) (smooth)
mengi (<ma-ingi) (many)
mengine (<ma-ingine) (other)

<i>pa-</i> pema	(<pa-ema	(a good place)
pororo	(<pa-ororo)	(a smooth place)
pengine	(<pa-ingine)	(another place)

In pronominal prefixes:

162. Except when occurring before verb stems beginning with a vowel, the behaviour of pronominal prefixes before vowels is very uniform and is somewhat similar to that under stress condition (b)—except that the vowel *-u-* is usually contracted to *-w-*.

i

<i>i-</i> y-a'nggu	(my—trees, house)
y-a mwali:mu	(the teacher's)
y-o y-o:te	(whichever)
y-a-ni-pende:za	(it, they, please(s) me)
i-li-y-o-a'nggu:ka	(which fell)
vi- vy-a'nggu	(my—things)
vy-o vy-o:te	
vi-li-vy-o-a'nggu:ka	
vy-a mwali:mu	
vy-a-ni-pende:za	

¹ Note Mombasa:—*wangi*.

li- l-a'ngu (my—egg)	l-a mwali:mu
l-o l-o:te	l-a-ni-pende:za
li-li-l-o-a'ngu:ka	
zi- z-a'ngu (my—houses)	z-a mwali:mu
z-o z-o:te	z-a-ni-pende:za
zi-li-z-o-a'ngu:ka	
ki- t-f-a'ngu (my—thing)	t-f-a mwali:mu
t-f-o t-f-o:te	t-f-a-ni-pende:za
ki-li-t-f-o-a'ngu:ka	
ni-	n-a-ku-pende:za
	(I please you)

u

u- w-a'ngu (my—tree, flower) ¹	w-a mwali:mu
w-o w-o:te	w-a-ni-pende:za
u-li-o-a'ngu:ka ²	
ku- kw-a'ngu (my—singing)	kw-a mwali:mu
kw-o kw-o:te	kw-a-ni-pende:za
ku- kw-a'ngu (to mine)	kw-a mwali:mu
k-o k-o:te (whithersoever)	
tu-li-k-o-kwe'nda (whither we went)	
mu- mw-a'ngu (in mine)	
m-o m-o:te (whereinsoever)	
tu-li-m-o-ka:a (wherein we dwelt)	
u- w-a-ni-pende:za (you please me)	
mu- mw-a-ni-pende:za (you pl. please me)	
tu- tw-a-ku-pende:za (we please you)	

a

wa- w-a'ngu (my—people)	w-a mwali:mu
w-o w-o:te	w-a-ni-pende:za
wa-li-o-a'ngu:ka ³	
ya- y-a'ngu (my—eggs)	y-a mwali:mu
y-o y-o:te	y-a-ni-pende:za
ya-li-y-o-a'ngu:ka	
pa- pa'ngu (at mine)	p-a mwali:mu
p-o p-o:te (wheresoever)	
tu-li-p-o-kwenda (when we went)	
a- a-ni-pende:za (he pleases me)	

163. When pronominal prefixes occur before verb stems, contraction, etc. sometimes occurs, sometimes not, according to the individual or according to the quality of the vowel that intro-

¹ Also "child," but other concords for this class are irregular.

² Here the entire prefix is elided.

³ Here the entire prefix is elided.

duces the verb stem. This contraction, etc. occurs predominantly with those prefixes which refer to persons. Notice the following typical pronunciations:—

ni- ni-e'nde or n-e'nde (that I may go)	a-ni-o:na (he sees me)
a-ni-ambi:a (he tells me)	
u- u-e'nde or w-e'nde (that you may go)	
ku- nili-ku-o:na (I saw you)	
nili-kw-ambi:a (I told you)	
nili-ku-ele:za	} (I explained to you)
nili-kw-ele:za	
mu- mu-e'nde or mw-e'nde (that you pl. may go)	
mu-andi:ka (that you pl. may write)	
mu- nili-mw-o:na (I saw him)	
nili-mw-ambi:a (I told him)	
nili-mw-ele:za (I explained to him)	
tu- tw-e'nde (that we may go)	ame-tu-o:na (he saw us)
tu-andi:ke (that we may write)	ame-tu-ambi:a } ame-tw-ambi:a }
tu-o:ne (that we may see)	ame-tw-ambi:a }
hu- hu-o:na (one sees)	
hu-andi:kwa (it is written)	
hu-e'nda or hw-e'nda (may be)	
a- a-e'nde or e'nde (let him go)	
wa- wa-e'nde or w-e'nde (let them go)	
ali-wa-o:na (he saw them)	
aka-we:ta (<aka-wa-ita) (and he called them)	

The Standard spelling allows of regular contraction, etc. in the case of 3rd pers. sing. obj. pref. (mw-), though tw- and hw- are occasionally written.

In verb tense prefixes:

164. The verb tense prefixes are retained in the standard spelling. Thus:—

a-na-ona (he sees), a-ka-ona (he then saw), a-ta-ona (he will see), ha-ja-ona (he has not yet seen), a-ki-ona (if he sees), a-si-one (let him not see).

In ordinary speech, however, and especially with certain verbs, contraction, etc. is very common. Thus:—

an'fa (<a-na-ifa)	(he has finished) ¹
ake:fa (<a-ka-ifa)	(and he finished)

¹ Mombasa form,

ha:je:fa (<*ha-ja-i/fa*) (he has not yet finished)

a-si:fe (<*a-si-i/fe*) (and he does not finish)

The following examples were heard from Buesh :

ake:nda (<*a-ka-enda*) (and he went)

akeingi'a nda:ni (<*a-ka-ingia*) (and he entered)

and the following from Barwani :—

wake:nda (<*wa-ka-enda*) (and they went)

haiku'wa ike:nda vizu:ri (<*i-ki-enda*) (it wasn't going nicely)

ase:nde maha:li (<*a-si-ende*) (and he went nowhere).

This sort of vowel change, though common enough in letters, and frequently recorded in Taylor's "African Aphorisms," is not recognized in the modern literature, nor encouraged in schools.

Other cases of contraction, etc.:

165. In rapid speech, contraction, etc. often occurs between two words where one ends in a vowel and the next one begins with a vowel. This sort of vowel change is very rarely represented even in letter writing. Note the following examples from Barwani :—

aka'zidi:fo:ba'ya wa:ke', kwa kumu:a ki'la mtu'

166. The following table summarizes lexical opinion on what happens to vowels in juxtaposition under the three conditions of stress.

First vowel *i*

	In word stems	In nom. pref.	In pron. pref.
(A) Stress on <i>i</i>	Dissyllable <i>pia</i>	Dissyllable <i>kia via</i>	—
(B) Stress on preceding syll.	Contraction <i>kimya</i>	—	Contraction <i>hi-y-o</i> , <i>hi-vy-o</i> ; Elision <i>hi-l-o</i> , <i>hi-z-o</i> , <i>hi-tf-o</i>
(C) Stress on 2nd vowel or later.	Contraction after labial const. <i>fyonza</i>	Uncertainty	Contraction <i>y- vy-</i> Elision <i>l-, z-, tf, n-</i> Retained before verb stems.

First vowel *u*

	In word stems	In nom. pref.	In pron. pref.
(A) Stress on <i>u</i> .	Dissyllable <i>kuu</i>	Dissyllable <i>ua, mua</i>	—
(B) Stress on preceding syll.	Contraction <i>pikwa</i>	—	Elision <i>hu-o</i> , <i>ku-k-o</i> , <i>hu-m-o</i>
(C) Stress on 2nd vowel or later.	Contraction usually <i>twaa</i>	Uncertainty.	Contraction <i>w-, k(w)-</i> , <i>m(w)-</i> . Uncertainty before verb stems.

... - - -

aliepi:to:pa'nde hu:o.

Script form :—Akazidisha ubaya wake, kwa kumwua kila mtu aliyepita upande huo.

Translation :—He added to his wickedness, by killing any person who passed that way.

- - - - -

si'ye yu:le a'liyondo:fwa kwovi'vu:

Script form :—Siye yule aliyecondoshwa kwa uvivu?

Translation :—Is he not the one who was dismissed for laziness?

and from Hamisi :—

- - - - -

aliku'omtu' mzu:ri sa'na (He was a very fine fellow.)

Script form :—Alikuwa mtu mzuri sana.

- - - - -

nya'meayguru:we (pork)

Script form :—nyama ya nguruwe.

Recapitulation :

First vowel *a*

(A) Stress on <i>a</i> .	Dissyllable <i>vaa</i>	Dissyllable <i>mai</i>	—
(B) Stress on preceding syll.	Elision <i>paka(a)</i>	—	Elision <i>ha-o</i> , <i>ha-y-o</i> , <i>ha-p-o</i>
(C) Stress on 2nd vowel or after.	Dissyllable <i>pauka</i>	Dissyllable <i>waamu</i> Elision <i>wana</i> Coalescence <i>wevi</i>	Elision <i>w-</i> , <i>y-</i> , <i>p-</i> . Retained before verb stems.

CONSONANT SOUND CHANGE

167. Consonant sound change in Swahili (apart from historical sound change with which this work is not concerned) is bound up intimately with the relationship of word roots or stems and their appropriate prefixes and suffixes. It is usually the affix which exercises sound change on the stem, though certain prefixes are themselves affected on occasion.

For convenience consonant sound change will be divided into two sections, according as it is brought about by prefixes or by suffixes.

Further, for the sake of completeness, we have not confined ourselves to the speech of our informants, but have adapted much material from written sources.

A. Sound Change brought about by Prefixes

168. Assimilation of this kind is to be seen principally in the formation of nouns, or in the agreement of adjectives with nouns in certain classes. In some of the examples given below, in order to show the sound change, adjectives are brought into agreement with noun classes irrespective of their meaning. It is difficult, for instance, to imagine the adjectives 'jealous,' 'straightforward,' 'lazy,' being used in ordinary speech in connection with nouns of the *li-* and *n-* classes; but the fact that some Swahili scholars, notably Madan, indicate their forms in such contexts, is sufficient to show that, academically at least, such forms are possible. These "academic" forms will be shown in square brackets in the forthcoming examples.

li

169. The nominal prefix *li-* is usually elided, though it may occasionally be found in the form

of *ji-*.¹ Its effects may be studied in

- (a) nouns in the *li-* class (Class 5—Bleek),
- (b) adjectives in agreement with such nouns, and are as follows:—

Stems beginning with a vowel or semi-vowel:

170. Certain stems beginning with a vowel or *w*, but derived from stems beginning with a labial consonant (*v* or *b*) may take *β-*.

(a) nouns:

bindo (a fold) < *winda* (manner of folding a loincloth)

bumba (lump) < *umba* (to mould)²

(b) adjectives:

bovu (rotten) < *-ovu* or *-bovu*³

[*βivu* (jealous) < *-ivu* or *-wivu*]

In the adjectival stems *-βivu* (ripe) and *-βitfi* (unripe) the *β-* has already been introduced without the influence of the *li-* prefix (cp. the verb *iva* = ripen).³ Note also the verbal nouns *uβivu* (ripeness), *uβitfi* (unripeness), *uβovu* (rotteness).

171. Certain stems beginning with a vowel, but derived from stems beginning with an alveolar consonant (*l* or *r*) may take *d-*.

(a) nouns:⁴

dandalo (a dance) cp. *andaa* (follow)

domo (beak) cp. *muomo* or *mdomo* (lip)

dungu (scaffold) cp. *unga* (join together)

(b) adjectives:⁵

dume (male) < *-ume*

172. Most other stems beginning with a vowel take *j-*. (Some of these seem to be derived

¹ Before monosyllabic stems only.

² But compare *umbo* (shape).

³ Compare Konde: 'bola (get rotten), 'bifwa (ripen), 'bumba (create).

⁴ Compare Nyanja:—*londa* (follow), *mlomo* (lip), *lunza* (tie together). See also §97n.

⁵ Compare Ganda:—*lume* (male).

from stems beginning with palatal or velar consonants.)

(a) nouns :¹

<i>jambo</i> (affair)	cp. <i>ambia</i> (tell)	<i>jina</i> (name)
<i>joko</i> (kiln)	cp. <i>oka</i> (bake)	<i>jitfo</i> (eye)
		<i>jino</i> (tooth)
		<i>jiko</i> (hearth)

(b) adjectives :

<i>jeupe</i> (white)	<-eu-pe ²	<i>jingi</i> (much)	<-iygi
<i>jeusi</i> (black)	<-eu-si	<i>jingine</i> (other)	<-(i)ygine ³
<i>jema</i> (good)	<-ema		
<i>jekundu</i> (red)	<-ekundu		
<i>jembamba</i> (narrow)	<-embamba		
<i>jororo</i> (soft)	<-ororo		

173. Note, however, the following nouns and adjectives in the *li-* class which begin with a vowel.

(a) nouns :⁴

<i>endeleo</i> ⁵ (progress)	cp. <i>enda</i> (go)]
<i>agano</i> (covenant)	cp. <i>agana</i> (come to terms)
<i>uygo</i> (joint)	cp. <i>uyga</i> (join)
<i>umbo</i> (shape)	cp. <i>umba</i> (mould)
* <i>afu(a)</i> (deliverance)	cp. <i>afu(a)</i> (deliver)
* <i>embe</i> (mango)	

(b) adjectives :⁴

<i>angavu</i> or <i>angafu</i> (bright)	cp. <i>angaa</i> (shine)
<i>anana</i> (gentle)	<-anana

It is interesting to note in this context that most noun stems beginning in a vowel take no initial consonant in the *li-* class, whereas most adjective stems beginning in a vowel take *j-*.

Stems beginning with a consonant :

174. Before monosyllabic stems beginning with a consonant, the prefix is *ji-*.

(a) nouns :

<i>ji-pu</i> (boil)	<i>ji-pya</i> (new)	<-pya
<i>ji-we</i> (stone)	<i>ji-ke</i> (female)	<-ke
<i>ji-fya</i> (cooking stone)		

(b) adjectives :

<i>ji-pu</i> (boil)	<i>ji-pya</i> (new)	<-pya
<i>ji-we</i> (stone)	<i>ji-ke</i> (female)	<-ke
<i>ji-fya</i> (cooking stone)		

¹ Compare the forms *mgambo*, *kiġambo*. Compare also Ganda :—*gamba* (talk) ; Kongo :—*yoka* (burn) ; Nyanja :—*dzina* (name), *diso* (eye) ; Zulu :—*izinyo* (tooth), *iziko* (hearth).¹

² Compare Nyanja :—*yera* (be white).

³ *jengine*, according to Binns ; Madan gives an alternative form *lingine*.

⁴ Compare Ganda :—*genda* (go), *bumba* (mould) ; Nyanja :—*lunza* (tie), *languka* (clear up).

⁵ Plural form *maendeleo* preferred.

But note *yai* (egg).¹

175. Before dissyllabic stems beginning with a consonant the *li-* prefix disappears and has no effect on the consonant.

(a) nouns :

<i>pumu</i> (lung)	cp. <i>pumua</i> (breathe)
<i>tando</i> (web)	cp. <i>tanda</i> (spread)
<i>tfango</i> (contribution)	cp. <i>tfayga</i> (collect)
<i>kamio</i> (threat)	cp. <i>kamia</i> (threaten)
* <i>baki</i> (remains)	cp. <i>baki</i> (remain over)
<i>danzi</i> (orange)	cp. <i>mdanzi</i> (orange tree)
<i>juto</i> (remorse)	cp. <i>juta</i> (regret)
<i>geuzi</i> (change)	cp. <i>geua</i> (change)
<i>funzo</i> (teaching)	cp. <i>funza</i> (teach)
<i>vao</i> (garment)	cp. <i>vaa</i> (dress)
<i>salio</i> (remnant)	cp. <i>saa</i> (stay)
<i>zao</i> (crop)	cp. <i>zaa</i> (produce)
* <i>futumu</i> (abuse)	cp. <i>futumu</i> (abuse)
<i>lipo</i> (payment)	cp. <i>lipa</i> (pay)
<i>rembo</i> (ornament)	cp. <i>remba</i> (adorn)
<i>miminiko</i> (casting)	cp. <i>mimina</i> (pour out)
<i>neno</i> (word)	cp. <i>nena</i> (say)
<i>yoga</i> (large mushroom)	cp. <i>kiyoga</i> (mushroom)
<i>wazo</i> (thought)	cp. <i>waza</i> (think)

(b) adjectives :

<i>pana</i> (broad)	- <i>pana</i>
<i>tamu</i> (sweet)	- <i>tamu</i>
<i>tfayga</i> (immature)	- <i>tfayga</i>
<i>kubwa</i> (big)	- <i>kubwa</i>
<i>baya</i> (bad)	- <i>baya</i>
<i>dogo</i> (little)	- <i>dogo</i>
<i>geni</i> (strange)	- <i>geni</i>
<i>fupi</i> (short)	- <i>fupi</i>
<i>vivu</i> (lazy)	- <i>vivu</i>
<i>zuri</i> (fine)	- <i>zuri</i>
<i>legevu</i> (slack)	- <i>legevu</i>
<i>refu</i> (long)	- <i>refu</i>
<i>moja</i> (one)	- <i>moja</i>
<i>nene</i> (thick)	- <i>nene</i>

Note that the majority of the above words (being verbal derivatives) are preferred in their plural form with prefix *ma-* when conveying an abstract concept. Thus : *makamio*, *maġaki*, *majuto*, etc.

176. Note that it is only the *nominal* prefix which causes sound change. The *pronominal*

¹ For Mombasa forms see §130.

prefix *li-* may occur before any stem, though its vowel element is usually elided before vowels.

li-takuja (it will come), *li-anipendeka* (it pleases me)

li-enu (yours pl.), *ndi-l-o* (that is it),

li-pi (which one ?)

but: *una-li-ona* (I see it)

ma

177. The plural of *li-* class nouns is usually obtained by prefixing *ma-* to the entire singular form.

Thus: *ma-bindo* (folds), *ma-dungu* (scaffolds),
ma-joko (kilns), *ma-jina* (names),
ma-uygo (joints), *ma-jipu* (boils),
ma-yai (eggs), *ma-pumu* (lungs).

178. With most of the nouns in *j(i)-*, however the plural prefix ousts the *j(i)-* prefix, and takes its place, with or without vowel coalescence.¹

mambo (affairs) (<*ma-ambo*), *meno* (teeth) (<*ma-ino*), *meko* (hearths) (<*ma-iko*); but *mat/o* (eyes; not *met/o*); *ma-fya* (cooking stones), *ma-we* (stones).

179. The plural of adjectives is usually formed direct from the adjective stem though occasionally it may be formed from the singular:

ma-(w)ivu (jealous) but *ma-bivu* (ripe)

ma-bitfi (unripe)

ma-ovu (evil) *ma-bovu* (rotten)

ma-ume (male) also *ma-dume*

m-eupe (white)

m-ororo (soft)

menyi (many) (<*ma-iygi*)

menyine (other) (<*ma-iygine*)

ma-angavu (bright)

[*ma-anana* (gentle)]

ma-pana (broad)

ma-pya (new) but *ma-jike* (female)

ji-

180. The reflexive prefix *ji-* appears to affect the stem in:—

ji-gamba (boast) cp. *ambia* (tell),

¹ This does not apply to those words in which *j(i)-* is an augmentative prefix. Here the prefix is retained, e.g. *ma-j-uygu* (big cooking pots), *ma-ji-ti* (big trees).

but note also *m-gambo* (palaver), *ki-gambo* (affair). Note that in other cases no sound change takes place. Thus:—

ji-ua (commit suicide), *ji-ona* (be conceited).

181. The augmentative prefix *ji-* and the diminutive prefix *kiji-*¹ are confined mostly to monosyllabic stems or stems beginning with a vowel, in which case only *j-* is heard. They have no effect on the initial stem consonant.²

<i>m-ti</i> (tree)	Compare <i>ji-ti</i> and <i>kiji-ti</i>
<i>m-tu</i> (person)	<i>ji-tu</i> <i>kiji-tu</i>
<i>mw-ana</i> (child)	<i>j-ana</i> <i>ki-j-ana</i>
<i>tf-uygu</i> (pot)	<i>j-uygu</i> <i>ki-j-uygu</i> , <i>ki-tfuygu</i>
<i>k-iyga</i> (fire brand)	<i>j-iyga</i> <i>ki-j-iyga</i>
<i>ny-oka</i> (snake)	<i>j-oka</i> <i>ki-j-oka</i>

Binns notes:

ugwe (small rope) *jugwe*³ *kigwe*

With dissyllabic stems beginning with a consonant the *ji-* prefix is not normally used, and the word is in the *li-* class. The diminutive form has *ki-*, varying with *kiji-*, which is more derogatory.

<i>m-dude</i> (a what-you-call-it)	<i>dude</i> <i>ki-dude</i>
<i>khomba</i> (monkey)	<i>komba</i> <i>ki-ji-k(h)omba</i> <i>ki-komba</i>

See also §192-3.

But note the following:—

<i>(m-)guu</i> (leg)	<i>(m-)ji-guu</i> <i>ki-guu</i> , <i>ki-ji-guu</i>
<i>u-vuli</i> (shade)	<i>ji-vuli</i> <i>ki-vuli</i>

n(i)-

182. The prefix *n(i)-*, while itself being often elided or else assimilated, has a great effect on succeeding sounds. Its effects may be studied in:—

(a) nouns in the nasal class (Class 9—Bleek, Ur-Bantu *ni-*);

(b) plural forms of these nouns, which in Swahili are identical with the singular forms (Class 10—Bleek, Ur-Bantu *lini-*);

¹ These prefixes often have a derogatory implication as well.

² But note *m-bwa* (dog), *ji-bwa*, *ki-ji-bwa*.

³ Not *jigwe*.

- (c) plural forms of certain nouns in the *u*-class¹ (here again plural prefix No. 10 is used);
- (d) adjectives in agreement with nouns in (a) (b) or (c); in Swahili the same adjective form meets all three cases;
- (e) verb stems or tense particles, etc., after the 1st pers. sing. pron. pref. *n(i)-*;
- (f) stems after the copula *n(i)-*.

Sound changes under (a) (b) (c) (d) are closely bound up with nominal prefixes, and are consistent throughout. Sound changes under (e) and (f) are not due to nominal prefixes and are optional (though the vowel *-i-*, or even the whole prefix, is often elided). They are not found in modern standard writing, nor did we hear them in the speech of our informants.

Stems beginning with a vowel or semi-vowel :

183. Certain stems beginning with a vowel or *w*, but derived from stems beginning with a labial consonant (*v* or *b*), take *mb-* (the *-b-* being explosive and the nasal element bilabial).

(a) and (b) nouns :²

m-boni (pupil of eye) cp. *ona* (see)

m-beleko (baby sling) cp. (*w*)*eleka* (carry a baby)

(c) plural of *u*-class nouns :

m-bati (hut poles) sg. *u-wati*

(d) adjectives :³

m-bovu (rotten) *-ovu*

m-bili (two) *-wili*

(e) after 1st pers. pron. :

sembuse . . . (not to mention . . .) (< *u-si-ni-uze* = Don't ask me)³

Taylor :— (§ 122) *Mbuka* . . . (Quit me . . .) (< *ni uka* or *ni wuka*)

Sound change in this context is very rare.

aliponiona (when he saw me).

(f) after copula :

Taylor :— (§ 396a) *Mwongo wa k'uku mbanawe* (< *ni wanawe*) (The hen's

¹ Corresponding to Bleek's Class 11 (Ur-Bantu *lu-*),—not to Bleek's Class 14 (Ur-Bantu *vu*), which in Swahili has no plural. The Concorde of these two classes are identical, except as regards adjectives in Mombasa Swahili.

² Compare Tswana :—*bōna* (see), *bêlêga* (carry), *bedi* or *pêdi* (two), *bôla* (rot). See §109n.

³ Johnson p. 413.

importance is among her offspring.)

Binns :—(p. 143-4) *Mwana huyo mbwa* (< *ni wa nani* ? (Whose child is it ?))

This latter is current among the older people in Mombasa, though even here *ni-wa* is more popular.

cp. Hamisi :—*n(i) watu weusi sana* (they are very black men).

184. Stems beginning with a vowel, but derived from stems beginning with *l* or *r* take *nd-* (the *-d-* being explosive and nasal element alveolar).

(a) and (b) nouns :¹

n-doto (dream) cp. *ota* (dream)

n-duli (killer) cp. *ua* (kill)

n-duma-kuwili (worm, lit. biter at both ends)

cp. *uma* (bite)

(c) plural of *u*-class nouns :

n-dwele (sickness) cp. *u-ele*

(d) adjectives :²

n-dume (male) < *-ume*

(e) after 1st pers. pron. :

Taylor :— (§ 406) *Ndaulia* (< *ni aulia*) (See after it for me.)

Sound change in this context is rare, even in Mombasa. cp. Barwani :—*ku-n-u(w)a* (to kill me).

185. Most other stems beginning with a vowel (or *y*) take *ny*. (Some of these seem to be derived from stems beginning with palatal or velar consonants.)

(a) and (b) nouns :

nyundo (hammer) cp. *unda*³ (construct)

(c) plural of *u*-class nouns :

ny-ayo (soles) sg. *w-ayo*

ny-enzo (levers) sg. *w-enzo*

ny-angwa (sandy wastes) sg. *w-angwa*

(d) adjectives :

ny-eupe (white) *ny-ingi* (many)

ny-eusi (black) *ny-ingine*⁴ (other)

¹ Compare Kikuyu :—*rota* (dream), *rũa* (fight), *rũma* (bite). See §97n.

² Compare Kongo :—*nlumi* (husband), See §262n.

³ Compare Nyanja :—*gunda* (beat). See also §263 note.

⁴ *nyengine* in Mombasa Swahili. Compare also Mombasa *nyingapi* with Zanzibar *ngapi* (how many ?)

ny-ekundu (red)
ny-embamba (narrow)
ny-ororo (soft)

but :

n-dzema or *ŋ-gema*¹ (good)

(e) after 1st pers. pron. :

Here there is no sound change.

cp. Barwani: *napenda uniazime* . . . (I want you to lend me . . .)

Note that *ni-ende* (I may go) may be pronounced *nende* but never *nyende*.

(f) after copula (note intrusion of -d-)²:

enzi ndake (<ni yake). (The power is his—Swahili hymn.)

Binns (p. 177:—*mali haya nda* (< ni ya) nani ? (Whose is this property ?)

186. Note the following nouns and adjectives in the *n-* class, however, which begin with a vowel.

(a) and (b) nouns :

*uga*³ (open space)

(c) plural of *u-* class nouns :

*onyo*⁴ (warnings) sg. *u-onyo*

(d) adjectives :

anana (soft, thin)

angavu or *angafu* (bright)

Stems beginning with a consonant :

187. Unvoiced explosive consonants are aspirated, and the prefix is elided.

(a) and (b) nouns :

phepo (wind) cp. *pepea* (blow)

thuzo (present) cp. *tuza* (bestow)

tshuki (hatred) cp. *tfukia* (hate)

khero (annoyance) cp. *kera* (annoy)

(c) plural of *u-* class nouns :

phanga (swords) sg. *u-panga*

thambi (wicks) sg. *u-tambi*

tfhale (incisions) sg. *u-tfale*

khuni (firewood) sg. *u-kuni*

(d) adjectives :

phana (broad) <-*pana*

thatu (three) <-*tatu*

¹ But compare *ny-emi* or *ki-ny-emi* (something pleasing).

² "niya" is also recognized.

³ Madan regards this word as *n-* class; most other authorities, however, regard it as *u-* class, with plural *ny-uga*.

⁴ Example from Madan; more popular form is *maonyo*.

tshungu (bitter) <-*tsungu*
khavu (dry) <-*kavu*

(e) after 1st pers. pron. :

Taylor:—(p. 166) *p'ete* (<ni pete) (I have received)

(§ 504) *t'endeje* (<ni tendeje) (What shall I do ?)

(§ 122) *k'ale* (<ni kale) (that I may sit)

(§ 159) *t'akupa* (<ni ta ku pa) (I'll give you)

These are all recognized Mombasa idioms, though dropping out of use now. In Zanzibar there is no sound change, and the *ni* prefix may be retained, dropped, or contracted to *n-*. Thus:—Hamisi:—

ntapata pesa wapi? (Where shall I get money ?)

taona moto wa makaa (I should see a coal fire)

In certain particles with *k-* the sound change goes further in Mombasa: *kh* > *h*. Thus:—*hamwona* (<*khamwona* <*nikamwona*) (and I saw him)

himwona (<*khimwona* <*nikimwona*) (if I see him)

But these, too, are dropping out of use in Mombasa, and are not used by our informants.

Hamisi:—*kienda* (<*nikienda*) (if I go)

nikamwuliza (I asked him)

(f) after copula :

Taylor:—(§ 166) *Kuagiza k'weza?* (<ni kweza) (Is to order to be able ?)

(§ 189) *Kuonana k'olewa* (<ni kolewa) (Meeting together is ordained).

(§ 1) *Ada ya mja hunena* (<ni kunena) (The custom of a slave is to talk).

Here we have both *kh* and *h* in the same kind of context. Taylor (§ 1) says that *niku ŋku kku* and *hu* are all extant (in Mombasa). In Zanzibar the form *hu-* exists in expressions like the following: *hufanya* (I, you, he, etc. is wont to do).

188. Voiced implosive consonants are replaced by voiced explosive consonants. The nasal element of the prefix is retained, but is assimilated according to the stem consonant's mouth position i.e. before a labial consonant it is *m-*, before a velar consonant it is *ŋ-*, before an alveolar or post-alveolar consonant it is *n-*.

(a) and (b) nouns :

m-bano (pincers) cp. *hana* (hold in vice)

ndzia (path) cp. *jia* (come)

(c) plural of *u-* class nouns :

m-bau (planks) sg. *u-bau*

n-devu (whiskers) s.g. *u-devu*

(d) adjectives :

m-bit/i (unripe) *-bit/i*

n-dogo (little) *-dogo*

u-gumu (hard) *-gumu*

189. The liquid consonants (*l* and *r*) usually undergo sound change to explosive *-d*, with retention of the *-n-*. Where there is no sound change the prefix is often elided.

(a) and (b) nouns :

n-difu (coconut fibre) cp. Ar. *li:f*

*n-dimu*¹ (lime) cp. Ar. *laimu:n*

(c) plural of *u-* class nouns :

n-dimi (tongues) sg. *u-limi*

Taylor (§ 507) Tu ndimani² (We are a-cultivating) cp. *lima* (vb.)

(d) adjectives :

n-defu (tall) *-refu*

but: *legevu* (slack) *-legevu*

lowefu (saturated) *-lowefu*

linganifu (similar) *-linganifu*

(e) after 1st pers. pron. :

Here there is no sound change.

Hamisi: *nlikuwa*. . . (I was. . . .).

(f) after copula :

According to Taylor (§ 99a) *ndimi*, *ndiwe*, etc.
= *ni-li-mi*³ = It is being I = It is I.

but: (§ 429) *n lipi liso* . . . (What affair is there ?)

190. Other consonants (the fricatives and nasal stops) are unaffected, and the prefix is normally elided, except before *-z* and occasionally before *-v*.

(a) and (b) nouns :

*se(ne)zo*⁴ (adze) cp. *seneza* (smooth with adze)

fangwe (joy) cp. *fangilia* (rejoice)

¹ Compare also *limau* (lemon) from the same Arabic source.

² "NDIMA, the verbal, belonging to the N class, from *kulima*, the *n* before an *l* blending with it into *nd*." (§ 507n.)

³ Taylor's etymology is doubtful here, as there is no other instance of the copula being combined with the verb-root *li*.

⁴ also *tezo*.

honggo (tribute) cp. *hongga* (pay toll)

(*m*)*vuli* (lesser rains)

yoe (stick for knocking down fruit)

cp. *yoa* (pull up)

Note also :—

ngojo (waiting place) cp. *ngoja* (wait)

(c) plural of *u-* class nouns :

fagio (sweeping brushes) sg. *u-fagio*

fanga (beads) sg. *u-fanga*

*vuli*¹ (shadiness) sg. *u-vuli*

*n-ziz*² (fish traps) sg. *u-zio*

mio (throats) sg. *u-mio*

yoyo (strips of palm leaf) sg. *u-yoyo*

(d) adjectives :

fupi (short) < *-fupi*

**sikifu* (obedient) < *-sikifu*

**farifu* (honourable) < *-farifu*

**haribifu* (destructive) < *-haribifu*

vivu (lazy) < *-vivu*

vungu (hollow) < *-vungu*

zuifu (hindering) < *-zuifu*

n-zuri (fine) < *-zuri*

n-zito (heavy) < *-zito*

moja (one) < *-moja*

nene (fat) < *-nene*

nyofu (straight) < *-nyofu*

ngwana (free) < *-ngwana*

(e) after 1st pers. pron. :

Taylor :— (§ 216) *Lambuwa* (*lanivuwa*) (It cuts me.)

This is the only instance to hand of assimilation with a fricative.

(f) after copula :

Here there is no sound change, and *n-* may be retained.

Taylor :— (§ 500) *Sumu ya nene n neno*. (The poison of a word is a word.)

(§ 161) *Kiumbe mwisho n nini?*
(Mortal man, what is his end ?)

Monosyllabic stems

191. With monosyllabic stems the sound change is as already described for (a) (b) and (d), except that the nasal element of the prefix is

¹ Madan only.

² *nyuzio* preferred.

retained (and assimilated); it is frequently preceded by the vowel *i*-,¹ possibly to give it greater resonance, as it now bears the word stress.

(a) and (b) nouns:

<i>m:-p(h)wa</i> ²	(strand)
<i>n:-t(h)a</i>	(wax)
<i>m:-ba</i>	(skin disease)
<i>m:-vi</i>	(grey hair)
<i>n:-dæ</i>	(outside)
<i>n:-t/(h)a</i> or <i>i'n-t/(h)a</i>	(point)
<i>n:-t/(h)i</i> or <i>i'n-t/(h)i</i> ¹	(land)
<i>n:-so</i> or <i>i'n-so</i>	(kidney)
<i>nzi</i> or <i>inzi</i>	(fly)

(c) plural of *u-* class words

Here the *u-* is retained and *ny-* is prefixed. In fact these words are treated as though they were stems beginning with a vowel (see § 202).

ny-upo (dippers) sg. *u-po*; but: *m:-p(h)ya* or *ma-pya* (newness) sg. *u-pya*

ny-uta (bows) sg. *u-ta*

ny-ugo (yards) sg. *u-go*; but: *η:-gwe* (cords) sg. *u-gwe*

ny-ufa (cracks) sg. *u-fa*

ny-uso (faces) sg. *u-so*

ny-uzi (threads) sg. *u-zi*; note also: *ny-uzi:o* (fish traps) sg. *u-zi:o*

ny-undu (cocks combs) sg. *u-ndu*

ny-uḡgu (pots) sg. *u-ḡgu*³

ny-uo (scabbards) sg. *u-o*

(d) adjectives:

m:-p(h)ya (new) *-pya*

η:-k(h)e (female) *-ke*

n:-ne (four) *-ne*

*fu*⁴ (dead) *-fu*

Reversing the influence of the nasal prefix.

192. When the nasal prefix is replaced by another prefix, a process of sound change takes place, tending towards the reverse of the processes described above.

¹ See §119. This *i-* is not recognized in the standard spelling except in *inzi* (fly), *ingia* (enter), *-ingine* (other).

² cp. *p(h)wa:mi* (on the shore), *t/(h)i:mi* (down).

³ *nyuḡgu* in Mombasa.

⁴ Irregular. Note also the position of the word stress in *nyama:fu* (dead animal), so as to preserve the phrase stress. cf. *maji ma:fu* (low tide).

Aspirated consonants lose their aspiration.¹

<i>n-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>ki-</i> etc.
<i>phaka</i> (cat)	<i>paka</i> (aug.)	<i>ki-paka</i> (kitten)
<i>thende</i> (date)		<i>m-tende</i> (date palm)

<i>tshuḡgwa</i> (kind of orange)	<i>tfunḡwa</i> (aug.)	<i>m-tfunḡwa</i> (orange tree)
<i>khombe</i> (dish)	<i>kombe</i> (aug.)	<i>ki-kombe</i> (cup)

Voiced explosive consonants are replaced by voiced *implosive* consonants.

<i>m-buzi</i> (goat)	<i>buzi</i> (aug.)	<i>ki-buzi</i> (dim.)
<i>n-dege</i> (bird)	<i>dege</i> (aug.)	<i>ki-dege</i> (dim.)
<i>n-dzia</i> (path)	<i>jia</i> (aug.)	<i>ki-jia</i> (dim.)
<i>η-goma</i> (drum)	<i>goma</i> (aug.)	<i>ki-goma</i> (dim.)

Note also:

<i>ḡoe</i> (stick for fruit)	<i>ηḡoe</i> ² (aug.)	<i>ki-ηḡoe</i> or <i>ki-ḡoe</i> (dim.)
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Schematically the processes may be compared as follows:

Formation of <i>n-</i> class	Reduction of <i>n-</i> class
<i>ni + p = ph</i>	<i>ph > p</i>
<i>ni + t = th</i>	<i>th > t</i>
<i>ni + tʃ = tʃh</i>	<i>tʃh > tʃ</i>
<i>ni + k = kh</i>	<i>kh > k</i>
<i>ni + β = mb</i>	<i>mb > β</i>
<i>ni + d = nd</i>	<i>nd > d</i>
<i>ni + ʒ = ndʒ</i>	<i>ndʒ > ʒ</i>
<i>ni + g = ḡg</i>	<i>ḡg > g</i>

193. If, however, the voiced explosive consonant is derived from *w* or *l* or *r* or a 'submerged' consonant, the process is not always entirely reversed, but may stop at the implosive stage.

m-bwe (pebble) *ki-we* or *ki-bwe* (dim.) cp. *ji-we* (stone)

n-dema (wicker fish trap), also *dema*, *lema*, *ema*.

n-doto (dream) *ki-doto* (blindfold for a camel) cp. *ota* (vb.)

n-dumiko (cupping horn), also *umiko*, cp. *umika* (vb. from *uma*)

**n-difu* (coconut fibre) also *ki-difu* or *ki-lifu*.³

¹ This sound change rule, owing to the presence of aspiration due to *stress*, may be somewhat imperfectly followed in practice. Thus Ramadhani says:—*kombe* (dish) and *ki-khombe* (cup); *khomba* (monkey) and *kiji-khomba* (dim.)

² Binns also gives *jogowe*.

³ Arabic *li:f*.

Note also the behaviour of stems beginning with a vowel :

ny-umba (house) *ki-nyumba* or *ki-j-umba* (dim.)
j-umba (aug.) *tf-umba* (room)
ny-ama (animal) *ki-nyama* (small animal).

Schematically these processes may be compared as follows :

Formation of <i>n</i> - class	Reduction of <i>n</i> - class
<i>ni</i> + <i>w</i> = <i>mb</i>	<i>mb</i> > <i>β</i> or <i>w</i>
<i>ni</i> + (<i>l</i>) = <i>nd</i>	<i>nd</i> > <i>d</i> or (<i>l</i>)
<i>ni</i> + vowel = <i>ny</i>	<i>ny</i> > retained or elided

194. Other consonants are unaffected ; in this category it is often impossible to tell from the form of a noun whether it belongs to the *n*- or *li*-class, where both prefixes are lacking. Thus :—

<i>n</i> -	<i>li</i> -	<i>ki</i> -
<i>fua</i> (round wooden tray)	<i>fua</i> (aug.)	<i>ki-fua</i> (dim.)
* <i>sufuria</i> (metal cooking pot)	<i>sufuria</i> (aug.)	
* <i>fuka</i> (calico loin cloth)	<i>fuka</i> (aug.)	
* <i>bakuli</i> (basin)	<i>bakuli</i> (aug.)	

ki-, vi-

Nominal prefix *ki*-, *vi*-

195. Before certain noun stems beginning in a vowel, the nominal prefix *ki*- undergoes sound change, the *-i-* being elided and the *ki*- palatalized. Note that with such nouns the vowel of the plural prefix is usually contracted into the semi-vowel *-y-*.¹

<i>tf-ura</i>	(frog)	pl. <i>vy-ura</i>
<i>tf-eo</i>	(measure)	pl. <i>vy-eo</i>
<i>tf-ombo</i>	(utensil)	pl. <i>vy-ombo</i>
<i>tf-ambo</i>	(bait)	pl. <i>vy-ambo</i>

This does not happen before all noun stems beginning in a vowel ; in verbal derivatives especially *ki*-, pl. *vi*- is preferred.

<i>ki-ini</i>	(kernel)	pl. <i>vi-ini</i>
<i>ki-uno</i>	(loin)	pl. <i>vi-uno</i>
<i>ki-elelezo</i>	(pattern)	pl. <i>vi-elelezo</i>
<i>ki-oteo</i>	(ambush)	pl. <i>vi-oteo</i>
<i>ki-azi</i>	(potato)	pl. <i>vi-azi</i>

In several cases alternative pronunciations have been heard.

tf-enge or *ki-enge* (firebrand)

¹ This is now the ruling in Standard Swahili spelling, but see §155.

tf-enezo or *ki-enezo* (measuring rod)

tf-embe or *ki-embe* (arrow)

But compare : *tf-ofo* (place for washing) *ki-ofo*
 (act of washing)

Before adjective stems beginning with a vowel, the sound is nearly always *tf*- (pl. *vy*-).

tf-ema (good)

tf-orore (soft)

but : *ki-nyi* (many), *tf-engine* or *ki-ngine* (other).

Pronominal Prefixes *ki*-, *vi*-

196. The pronominal prefixes do not change before a verb stem beginning with a vowel ; otherwise before vowels the sound change is *ki*- > *tf*-, *vi*- > *vy*-.

tf-etu, *vy-etu* (our) *tf-anipendeza* (it pleases me)

tf-ote, *vy-ote* (all) *ndi-tf-o* (that is it)

tf-angu, *vy-angu* (my) *vy-anipendeza* (they please me) *ndi-vy-o* (those are they)

but : *ki-enda-tf-o* (that which goes)

vi-enda-vy-o (those which go)

nna-ki-ona (I see it)

nna-vi-ona (I see them)

Note that neither prefix, whether nominal or pronominal, has any effect on following consonants.

m(u)-

197. In one or two words *m* alternates with *ŋ* in the prefix.

m-tfiro or *ŋ-tfiro* or *ŋ-gutfiro* (mongoose)

mi-

198. In apparently one instance the nasal element of the prefix *mi*- is palatalized before a following vowel.

mi-oyo or *ny-oyo* (hearts) sg. *m-oyo*

B. Sound Change brought about by Suffixes

199. Certain suffixes have an assimilating effect on the final consonant (or 'submerged' consonant) of word stems. The effects may be conveniently classified according to whether the suffix contains the *front* vowel *-i-* (or semi vowel *y*) or the *back* vowel *-u-*. (The semi vowel *w* does not cause sound change).

Suffixes containing the front vowel *-i-* (or *-y-*):

200. On the whole the influence of these front sounds is palatalizing, in that most of the consonants concerned are attracted in mouth position towards the palate. The following are the consonants affected:—

Unvoiced: *p t k*

Voiced: *ḃ ḃ w d l r ḡ ḡ*

Submerged: *w l*

Nasal: *n ny*

Other consonants are not affected, nor are the above consonants affected on all occasions.

201. The sound change is brought about by the following three suffixes:—

The nominal suffix *-i*;

The verb causative or intensive suffix *-ya*;

The verb perfect (archaic) suffix *-i(l)e*.

The nominal suffix *-i*.

202. The following consonants are affected by this suffix, and the sound change is as follows:

p > *fi*

t > *si*

k > *fi* (rarely *si*)

voiced:

ḃ or *b* or *w* > *vi* or *zi*

d¹ or *l* > *zi*

ḡ or *g* > *zi*

submerged:

(*w*) > *vi*

(*l*) > *zi*

Examples:—

Unvoiced consonants:

lipa (pay) *mlifi* (payer)

okota (pick up) *kiokosi* (reward for picking up)

aka (build in stone) *mwaḃi* (stone mason)

suka (plait) *msusi²* (woman's hairdresser)

Voiced consonants:

iḃa (steal) *mwiv¹i* or *mwiz¹i* (thief)

gomba (quarrel) *mgomvi* (quarrelsome man)

lewa (get drunk) *mlevi* (drunkard)

unda (construct) *unzi* (construction)

¹ No verbs in *-d-* seems to take this suffix.

² or *msuki*. Cp. Mombasa *mpisi* (cook), Zanzibar: *mpifi* from *pika* (to cook).

lala (sleep) *malazi* (bedding, etc.)

loga (bewitch) *mlozi* (wizard)

jenga (build) *mjenzi* (builder)

Submerged consonants:

jua¹ (know) *mjuvi* (a know-all)

mjuzi (wise man)

lea² (bring up) *mlezi* (nurse)

203. Other consonants are not affected:—

soma (read) *msomi* (reader)

fona (sew) *mfoṇi* (tailor)

ondza (taste) *maondzi* (testing, etc.)

nyanya (rob) *mnyanyani* (robber)

fit/a (hide) *mfit/ifiṭ/i* (secretive person)

kaza (hold up) *mkazi³* (supporter)

204. Note here the suffix *-ji*, which may be added to verb stems in the formation of nouns.

sema (speak) *msemaji* (speaker)

pa (give) *mpaji* (giver)

Meinhof ("Bantu Phonology" pp 118, 129, 132) maintains that this suffix is derived from the verb suffix *-ga* (or *-ya*), common in Bantu languages like Kikuyu.⁴ Note, however, that normally *g* > *z* before *-i-*:

vuruga (stir up) *mvuruzi* (one who stirs up)⁵

205. Not all *-i* suffixes cause palatalization, however, e.g.

kopa (borrow) *mkopi* (borrower)

pinda (bend) *pindi* (a bend)

koroga (stir) *mkorogi* (stirrer, agitator)

ua⁶ (kill) *nduli* (killer)

Note also the verb negative suffix as in:—

silipi (I do not pay), *silali* (I do not sleep), *siju*; (I do not know).

The Verbal Suffixes (Causative or Intensive) *-ya*, *-ifa*, *-iza*.

206. In 'Swahili Exercises' (p. 123) it is stated:—"The Causative Form is derived (or made) from the Direct Form by changing the

¹ 'Submerged' *w*; cp. Nyanja:—*dziwa*.

² 'Submerged' *l*; cp. Nyanja:—*lera*.

³ A name of God. Compare *mkazi* (dweller) from *kaa* (dwell) ('submerged' *l*).

⁴ Kikuyu:—*gwata* (grasp), *gwataga* (grasp habitually or continuously).

⁵ Binns p. 171 but compare *mkorogi* below.

⁶ 'Submerged' *l*.

final -a of the Direct Form into -isha (or -iza) or -esha (or -eza)."

From the phonetic point of view there are two processes concerned in the formation of these verbal derivatives:—

(1) The addition of the suffix -ya, accompanied by sound change in the final consonant of the stem:¹

(2) The addition of the suffixes -i/a (-e/a) or -iza (-eza), usually without sound change in the final consonant of the stem.

The first process is philologically the older one, and will be studied here first.

Process (1): The suffix -ya.

207. The Causative or Intensive suffix -ya, when used, has much the same palatalizing effect as -i already discussed, though more consonants may be affected. The sound change is as follows:—

[unvoiced]	[voiced]
p > fya	w > vya
t > sa or fa	d or l > za
k > fa or sa	g > za
[submerged]	[nasal]
(w) > vya	n > nya
(l) > za	ny > nza

(Note that no verb stems ending in -b- or -b- or -d- or -g- can be found to take this suffix.)

Examples:—²

Unvoiced consonants:

bopa	(be soft to the touch)	>	bofya
nata	(adhere)	>	nasa
pata	(get)	>	pasa, pafa
waka	(burn intr.)	>	wafa
ruk(h)a	(fly)	>	rufa
nuk(h)a	(smell intr.)	>	nusa

Voiced consonants:

nawa	(wash hands)	>	navya
funda	(give tribal instruction)	>	funza
lala	(sleep)	>	laza
pinga	(obstruct)	>	pinza

¹ Causatives, etc. formed on these lines are regarded as exceptions rather than the general rule in 'Swahili Exercises' (see p. 124).

² The student is referred to the Dictionary for the exact meaning of these forms, some of which are used only idiomatically.

'Submerged' consonants:

jua	(know) ('submerged' w)	>	juvya
lia	(cry) ('submerged' l)	>	liza

Nasal consonants:

ona	(see)	>	onya
fanya	(make)	>	fanza

Sound change in derivative suffixes:

208. This process with sound change is always present in the Causative or Intensive forms of those derivative suffixes which contain

-k- or 'submerged' -l-, viz:—

-ka	>	-fa	
-ika	>	-ifa	-ia > -iza
-eka	>	-efa	-ea > -eza
-uka	>	-ufa	-ua > -uza
-oka	>	-ofa	-oa > -oza
		-aa	> -aza

Examples:—

pevuka ¹	(become grown up)	>	pevufa
*fadhaika	(be troubled)	>	fadhaiifa
toweka	(be lacking)	>	toweifa
levuka	(become sober)	>	levufa
ponyoka	(slip out of one's hand)	>	ponyoifa
telemka	(go down)	>	telemifa
lipia	(pay on behalf of)	>	lipiza
potea	(get lost)	>	poteza
fungua	(untie)	>	funguza
tfomoa	(pull out)	>	tfomoza
pakaa	(anoint)	>	pakaza

Where the derivative suffixes -pa, -ta and -na are concerned, Process 1 varies with Process 2, as the following sections will show.

Process (2): The suffixes -i/a, -iza.

209. Many verbs do not use the suffix -ya with sound change, but add -i/a (-e/a after stem vowels -e- and -o-) or, less commonly, -iza (-eza after stem vowels -e- and -o-). Examples:—

Unvoiced consonants:

nepa	(bend)	>	nepefa
lipa	(pay)	>	lipifa
kopa	(borrow)	>	kopefa (lend)
nenepa	(become fat)	>	nenepefa
leta	(bring)	>	letefa or leteza
kata	(cut)	>	katiza

¹ From -pevu (grown up), cp. pea (grow up). See §216.

<i>fumbata</i> (grasp)	> <i>fumbatifa</i>
<i>pika</i> (cook)	> <i>pikifa</i>
<i>weka</i> (place)	> <i>wekefa</i> or <i>wekeza</i>
<i>daka</i> (snatch)	> <i>dakiza</i>

Voiced consonants :

<i>gawa</i> (divide)	> <i>gawifa</i>
<i>linda</i> (guard)	> <i>lindifa</i>
<i>tenda</i> (do)	> <i>tendefa</i> or <i>tendeza</i>
<i>penda</i> (like)	> <i>pendeza</i>
<i>jenga</i> (build)	> <i>jengefa</i>
<i>funga</i> (tie)	> <i>fungifa</i>

'Submerged' consonants :

<i>lo(w)a</i> (get wet)	> <i>lowefa</i>
<i>zaa</i> (bear)	> <i>zalifa</i>
<i>fua</i> (hammer)	> <i>fulifa</i> or <i>fuliza</i>

Nasal consonants :

<i>nena</i> (talk)	> <i>nenefa</i> or <i>neneza</i>
<i>pigana</i> (fight)	> <i>piganifa</i>
<i>penya</i> (enter into)	> <i>penyeza</i>

Other consonants (these never take -ya):

<i>tuma</i> (send)	> <i>tunifa</i>
<i>soma</i> (read)	> <i>somefa</i>
<i>iba</i> (steal)	> <i>ibifa</i>
<i>gomba</i> (forbid)	> <i>gombeza</i>
<i>amba</i> (adhere)	> <i>ambifa</i> or <i>ambisa</i> ¹
<i>oga</i> (have a bath)	> <i>ogefa</i>
<i>fitfa</i> (hide)	> <i>fitifa</i>
<i>ondza</i> (taste)	> <i>ondzeza</i>

210. Verbs borrowed from Arabic also take these suffixes as a rule, no matter what their final stem consonant is.

* <i>seleh e</i> } (agree)	> <i>selehefa</i>
* <i>suluhu</i> } (agree)	> <i>suluhifa</i>
* <i>samehe</i> (pardon)	> <i>samehefa</i>
* <i>karibu</i> (be near)	> <i>karibifa</i>
* <i>zidi</i> (become greater)	> <i>zidifa</i>
* <i>fikiri</i> (consider)	> <i>fikirifa</i>
* <i>sitawi</i> (flourish)	> <i>sitawifa</i>
* <i>bariki</i> (bless)	> <i>barikifa</i>
* <i>tawala</i> (govern)	> <i>tawalifa</i> , <i>tawaza</i>
* <i>sahau</i> (forget)	> <i>sahaulifa</i> , <i>sahauliza</i> , <i>sahauza</i>

(Note the intrusive -l- in the last example, on the analogy of 'submerged' l).

211. Verbs already causative or intensive in form normally take the -ifa (-efa) suffix only.

¹ -s- is to be found in a few cases.

<i>nusa</i> (smell tr.)	> <i>nusifa</i>
<i>li/a</i> (go on eating, cause to eat)	> <i>li/a</i> or <i>lizifa</i>
<i>kaza</i> (make firm)	> <i>kazifa</i>
<i>oza</i> (rot)	> <i>ozeza</i>
<i>pendeza</i> (please)	> <i>pendezeza</i>
<i>nyamaza</i> (keep quiet)	> <i>nyamazifa</i>

212. Note the following verbs which make use of both processes, i.e. allow of Causative or Intensive Forms in -ya (with sound change) as well as forms with suffixes -ifa, etc. Here there is usually a difference in meaning or implication, especially where the -iza (-eza) suffix is concerned.

[Process (1)]

[Process (2)]

Unvoiced consonants :

<i>apa</i> (swear)	<i>afya</i>	<i>api/a</i>	<i>apiza</i>
<i>ogopa</i> (fear)	<i>ogofya</i>	<i>ogofi/a</i> ¹	
<i>pita</i> (pass)	<i>pifa</i>	<i>piti/a</i>	
<i>pata</i> (get)	<i>pasa, pa/a</i>	<i>pati/a</i>	<i>patiza</i>
<i>fuata</i> (follow)	<i>fuasa</i>	<i>fuati/a</i>	
<i>tukuta</i> (be restless)	<i>tukusa</i>	<i>tukuti/a</i>	<i>tukutiza</i>
	<i>tukufa</i>		<i>tukutisa</i>
<i>tfeka</i> (laugh)	<i>tfe/a</i>	<i>tfeke/a</i>	
<i>tfoka</i> (be weary)	<i>tfo/a</i>	<i>tfoke/a</i>	
<i>fika</i> (reach)	<i>fifa</i>	<i>fiki/a</i>	
<i>ruk(h)a</i> (fly)	<i>ru/a</i>		<i>ruk(h)iza</i>

Voiced consonants :

<i>lewa</i> (be drunk)	<i>levya</i>	<i>lewe/a</i>
<i>nawa</i> (wash hands)	<i>navya</i>	<i>nawi/a</i>
<i>enda</i> (go)	<i>enza</i>	<i>ende/a</i>
<i>panda</i> (go up)	<i>panza</i>	<i>pandi/a</i>
<i>lala</i> (sleep)	<i>laza</i>	<i>lali/a</i>
<i>pinga</i> (obstruct)	<i>pinza</i>	<i>pingi/a</i>

'Submerged' consonants :

<i>jua</i> (know)	<i>juvya</i>	<i>juvi/a</i> ¹
	<i>juza</i> ²	<i>juli/a</i> ²
<i>kaa</i> (stay)	<i>kaza</i>	<i>kali/a</i>

Nasal consonants :

<i>ona</i> (see)	<i>onya</i>	<i>onye/a</i> ¹
<i>pona</i> (be safe)	<i>ponya</i>	<i>ponye/a</i> ¹
<i>fungana</i> (fasten together)	<i>funganya</i>	<i>fungani/a</i>
<i>fanya</i> (make)	<i>fanza</i>	<i>fanyiza</i>

213. It is possible that the Causative and Intensive forms obtained through Process (2) are

¹ Sound change before -ifa, etc. is rare.

² Note intrusive -l- on analogy of verbs with 'submerged' l,

actually the Causative and Intensive forms of verbal derivatives and not of simple verbs, thus:—

<i>nepefa</i>	< <i>nepeka</i>	(and not < <i>nepa</i>)
<i>tumifa</i>	< <i>tumika</i>	(and not < <i>tuma</i>)
<i>*sahaulifa</i>	< <i>sahaulika</i>	(and not < <i>sahau</i>)
<i>pendeza</i>	< <i>pendea</i>	(and not < <i>penda</i>)
<i>gombeza</i>	< <i>gombea</i>	(and not < <i>gomba</i>)
<i>pendezeza</i>	< <i>pendezeka</i>	(and not < <i>pendeza</i>).

On the other hand it would appear that the suffix *-i/a* (*-e/a*) especially has come to be regarded by the Swahili as a Causative or Intensive suffix in itself, irrespective of the parent verb stem. This is particularly noticeable in the treatment of verbs borrowed from Arabic, where the older process is seldom applied.

It would thus appear that verbs in *-i/a* (*-e/a*) are made in either the Simple (Direct) or the Neuter Form; whereas verbs in *-iza* (*-eza*) are nearly always made on the Prepositional Form. Much more will have to be known of the functions of these suffixes in all their contexts before one can decide, in any given example, the exact derivation of its form; but the foregoing should explain why the *-i/a* form is much more common than the *-iza* form, and why, in verbs which allow of more than one Causative or Intensive form, the *-ya* and *-i/a* forms are much nearer each other in meaning than either is to the *-iza* form.

The Perfect Suffix (archaic)

214. The old Perfect suffix *-ile*, *-ie* or *-e*, as still found in old poems, etc., occasionally has a palatalizing effect on the verb stem. Taylor p. 166 records:—

<i>uumbushile</i>	(it has been defaced)	from	<i>umbuka</i>
<i>sikiziye</i>	(I have heard)		<i>sikia</i>
<i>utiziyeni</i>	(What have you put in ?)		<i>tia</i>
<i>nimeze</i>	(I have finished)		<i>mala</i>

while Miss Bryan¹ has discovered:—

<i>kusie</i>	from	<i>kuta</i>	(meet)
<i>fusie</i>		<i>futa</i>	(wipe out)
<i>geushic</i>		<i>geuka</i>	(turn)
<i>ushie</i>		<i>uka</i>	(go out)
<i>tamushile</i>		<i>tamuka</i>	(utter)
<i>shushile</i>		<i>shuka</i>	(descend)
<i>ondoshile</i>		<i>ondoka</i>	(go away)

¹ Op. cit.

<i>tenzile</i>	<i>tenda</i>	(do)
<i>tizie</i>	<i>tia</i>	(put)
<i>liziye</i>	<i>lia</i>	(cry)
<i>kunduzile</i>	<i>kundua</i> ¹	(unfold)
<i>tukuzie</i>	<i>tukua</i> ¹	(carry)
<i>potozile</i>	<i>potoa</i>	(pervert)

Suffixes containing the back vowel *-u-*.

215. On the whole the influence of the back vowel is labializing, in that the non-labial consonants concerned are attracted to the labial mouth position. Only the following consonants are affected, and the sound change is as follows:—

unvoiced	voiced	'submerged'
<i>p > f</i>	<i>w > v</i>	<i>w > v</i>
<i>k > f</i>		<i>l > v</i>

The suffixes concerned are:—

The nominal suffix *-u*;

The verb reversion or intensive suffixes *-ua*, *-uka* (rarely).

The nominal suffix *-u*:

216. Note the following cases of assimilation by this suffix:—

Unvoiced consonants:

<i>-lafu</i>	(greedy)	cp. <i>lapa</i>	(eat ravenously)
<i>-tukufu</i>	(exalted)	cp. <i>tukuka</i>	(become exalted)

Voiced consonants (including 'submerged' *l*):

<i>-lovu</i>	(soaked)	cp. <i>lowa</i>	(be wet)
<i>-tovu</i>	(lacking)	cp. <i>to(w)a</i>	(lack)
<i>-nyamavu</i>	(quiet)	cp. <i>nyamaa</i>	(be quiet)

(submerged' *l*)

Other consonants are not affected:

<i>-tukutu</i>	(restless)	cp. <i>tukuta</i>	(be restless)
<i>-fu</i>	(dead)	cp. <i>fa</i>	(die)

217. Not all *-u* suffixes cause labialization, however: e.g.

<i>-kuu</i>	(big)	cp. <i>kua</i>	(grow) ('submerged' <i>l</i>)
<i>-eu-pe</i>	(white)	cp. Nyanja: <i>yera</i>	(be white).

Philology has established that only those *u*-sounds which are derived from 'heavy' *u* (written *û* in Ur-Bantu) cause sound change. There are two *-u* suffixes in Bantu, only one of which is with 'heavy' *û*. Swahili pronounces the same vowel for both, the existence of the 'heavy' suffix may be seen in the assimilation of the preceding consonant.

¹ Mombasa forms; *kundzua* and *tsukua* in Zanzibar.

218. Owing to the occasional interchange of unvoiced and voiced consonants (see § 125), the suffixes *-fu* and *-vu* occasionally alternate.

-tfofu or *-tfovu* cp. *tfoka* (be tired)
-aygavu or *-aygafu* (bright) cp. *aygaa* (shine)
wokovu or *wokofu* (deliverance) cp. *okoa* (save)
-zoevu (*-zoelevu*) or *-zoefu* *-zoelefu* (accustomed to)
 cp. *zoea* (get used to) *zoelea*.

219. In other words the *-fu* or *-vu* suffix does not correspond phonetically to the parent word.

**neemevu* (plentiful) cp. *neemeka* (have plenty)
uangalifu (carefulness) cp. *angalia* (pay attention)
-tangulifu (in advance) cp. *tangulia* (precede)
-vundzifu (destructive) cp. *vundza* (break)
danganyifu (a cheat) cp. *danganya* (deceive)
-ovu (rotten) cp. *oza* (rot).

It may be (as in the case of *-ovu*) that the word is derived from a form of the verb no longer in common use. A more likely explanation is that *-ifu* and *-ivu* are now regarded as suffixes in themselves, capable of being attached to stems, irrespective of their phonetic composition. This certainly seems to be the case with nouns and adjectives derived from verbs of Arabic origin.

**-aminifu* (trustworthy) cp. *amini* (have faith in)
 **-haribifu* (destructive) cp. *haribu* (destroy)
 **msahaulifu* or **msahaulivu*¹ (forgetful man) cp. *sahau* (forget)
 **-stahimilivu* (patient) cp. *stahimili* (endure)
 **ufahamivu* (understanding) cp. *fahamu* (understand).

The verbal suffixes *-ua*, *-uka*:

220. These suffixes containing as they do a vowel derived from 'light' *u*, do not normally cause sound change. e.g.

epua (move away), *epuka* (avoid) cp. *epa* (dodge),
paua (arrange cross beams), *pauka* (be so arranged)
 cp. *paa* (ascend) ('submerged' *l* see § 103)

In one or two verbs, however, sound change occurs:—

lafua (be greedy), *lafuka* (be insatiable)
 cp. *lapa* (eat ravenously)
*levuka*² (get sober) cp. *lewa* (be drunk)
 but: *lauka* (rise early) cp. *lawu* (come out).

¹ Note introduction of *l* on analogy of submerged *l* in words of Bantu origin.

² *leuka* according to Binns.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO¹

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups² are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tindiret forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpui, Kipkorom, Sosoio, Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tindiret hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tindiret form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

Department, were held guilty of a crime they did not understand. In 1937, in accordance with the decision of the Kenya Land Tenure Commission of 1932, they were forcibly driven out of the forest and settled in the Nandi Reserve. This attempt to settle them outside their native forest was a failure, and they are now an uncared for, landless group of outcasts living a precarious existence on the farms which stretch up to the edge of the forest. Unless they work on a farm, their very existence here is illegal, and although they are permitted to live in Nandi, the majority do not want to, and are bitterly resentful of being kept out of their own home. I had fortunately made their acquaintance in 1927, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1938, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organization.

As regards their numbers, the census I took showed a total of 221 people. This is probably not the full total, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans; the census results may be summarized thus:—

¹The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to this organisation for making the work possible.

²The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst., 1929, LIX. 336 and fig. 2.

A. DISTRICT TOTALS

DISTRICT	♂ <i>Single</i>	♂ <i>Married</i>	♀	♂ <i>Children</i>	♀ <i>Children</i>	TOTAL
KIPKOROM	8	6	14	9	10	47
SOSOIYO	22	19	26	16	19	102
KELPUI	25	18	16	8	5	72
	55	43	56	33	34	221

Total ♂: 131.

Total ♀: 90.

B. DISTRIBUTION

	<i>In forest</i>	<i>On farms close to forest</i>	<i>On farms away from forest</i>	<i>In Nandi, etc.</i>	<i>Uncertain domicile</i>
KIPKOROM	—	28	10	9	—
SOSOIYO	13	58	—	28	3
KELPUI	—	43	21	8	—
	13	129	31	45	3

C. CLAN ANALYSIS

CLAN	KIPKOROM	SOSOIYO	KELPUI	TOTALS
KAPSEGOI	13	27	36	76
MOI	25	12	17	54
KPIEGEN	6	10	2	18
KIPAMWI	—	9	—	9
KAPIL	—	2	3	5
TOIYOI	—	3	—	3
KORAPOR	—	—	1	1
Uncertain	3	39	13	55
	47	102	72	221

The social structure of the Dorobo is based on clan-solidarity, the clans being patrilineal, partially patrilocal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but here the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and in close contact with a forest produces a considerable effect on people, which differentiates them from those who live in open country; and the influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing, just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees, inescapable when the children are young.

3. The depressing influence on the mind of trees in mass.

4. The effect of being cut off from neighbours; even if the next settlement is but a few yards away, it cannot be seen, and the trees act as an enclosing wall forming an impenetrable barrier.

5. Forest life tends to produce shyness and timidity, especially with strangers, who, not being expected, and having presumably no legitimate business, are thought to have bad intentions.

Some of the differences between the Dorobo and the Nandi, which are produced by these factors, are:

Shyness; comparative absence of laughter; seriousness of outlook; nearness to nature, as shown by the weather- and animal-sense of the Dorobo; and the comparative honesty of the Dorobo. Even when Dorobo leave the forest and mix with others, they still retain these characteristics.

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.¹ All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality.

II

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show.

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

¹First Ascending Generation.

- (1) F., M.=BABA, *eiyo*.
- (2) M.Br., M.Br.W.=MAMA, *mama*.
- (3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H.=*eiyo*, BABA, as F. and M.
- (4) F. Br., F. Br. W.=BABA, *eiyo*. "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.
- (5) F.Sis.=*pukot*, a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.
- (6) F. Sis. H.=*konyit*, i.e. brother-in-law,

¹ So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya.

applied also to the husbands of F. Br. D., F.Sis.D., Sis., M.Br. D., M.Sis.D., and to W.Br. It is therefore the male equivalent of *pukot*.

Second Ascending Generation.

- (1) F.F., F.M., and M.F., M.M.=KUKO, *koko*, and also AGWI, *agwi*, the latter applied by courtesy to F.F.Br., M.F.Br., F.F.Sis., M.F.Sis., and their children.

Third Ascending Generation.

- (1) F.F.F., F.F.M., F.M.F., F.M.M., M.F.F., M.F.M., M.M.F., M.M.M.=MACHOKOR, *makikat*.

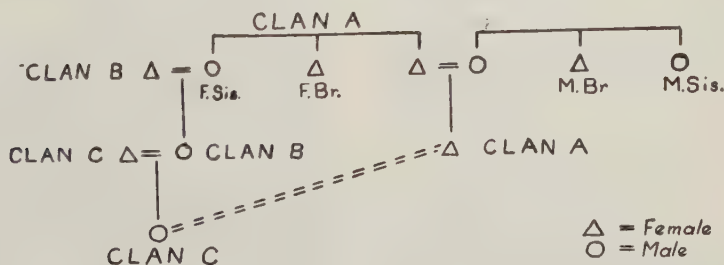
Ego's own Generation.

- (1) Br., Sis., M.Sis.S., M.Sis.D.=KESE-NDA, *Kesenda*, linking these two groups in a br.—sis. relationship.
- (2) M.Br. S., M.Br. D.=MAMA, *mama*, as M.Br.
- (3) F.Br. S., F.Br. D., F.Sis. S., F.Sis.D.=MACHOKOR, *machokor*.

There is here a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, the former being linked with 3rd ascending and 1st descending generations, the latter with one's brothers and sisters.

First Descending Generation.

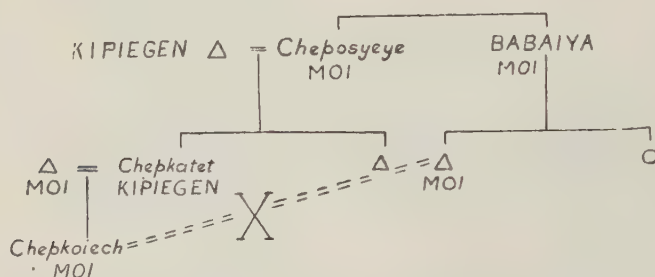
- (1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of F.Br.S. and D. and of F.Sis. S. and D. are MACHOKOR, the same as their parents. According to Dorobo statements, a man is allowed to marry his F. Sis. D.D.—his *machokor*—, but no other woman whom he calls by a relationship term.



THEORETICAL MARRIAGE WITH F.Sis.D.D.

This statement is not supported by any of my genealogies, but this does not necessarily mean it has never occurred, and my informants were unanimous in asserting it. A man can therefore in theory marry his classificatory grand-daughter; he would not be likely to do so in fact on account of the shortage of women, and the lack of wealth,

for if, e.g. a man was forty years old, and his *machokor* was only ten, he could marry her only as a second wife, a luxury which few Dorobo can attain. And again, owing to the small number of clans, the F.Sis. D.D. is often of the same clan, and so barred from marriage, as in the following case:



CLAN - BAR TO F.S.D.D. MARRIAGE

(2) Ego's S. and D., and Br. S. and D.=
APAA, apaa.

(3) Children both ♂ and ♀ of Sis., and of M.
Br. S.=*MAMA, mama*, placing them in the
M.Br. category, an unusual feature, since the
Nandi (and ? Masae) group M.Br. and M.Br.
S. together, but have no term for M. Br. S.S.,
who is outside the *tiliet* or relationship.

(4) M.Br.D.S. and D.=*MAMA, mama*, again
different from the Nandi, who regard them
as outside the *tiliet*.

(5) Children both ♂ and ♀ of M.Sis. S. and D.=
KESENDA, Kesenda, placing them in the
same category as Br., Sis., and M.Sis.S, and
D.

Second Descending Generation.

(1) Son's S. and D., Dau's S. and D.=
AGWI, agwi, i.e. they call ego *agwi*=grand-
father; and all of this generation are *agwi*
to ego, i.e. all children of *machokor, apaa*,
and *mama*, though not of M.Sis.S.S., who
are *kesenda*.

Functional analysis of terms : ♀ speak-
ing. (W.S.)

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F.Br., M.Sis. are *BABA, eiyo*, the same
as when a man is speaking.

(2) M.Br.=*APULAIYO*, < Masae *apula*,
< *apu*, M.Br. (M.S.); M.Br.W.=*eiyo* as
M.S.

(3) M.Sis.Hus.=*KONYIT*, the ordinary
term for a male relative by marriage, i.e.
"husband," and applied also to the same
other categories as M.S.

(4) F.Sis., F.Br.W.=*Sindet*.

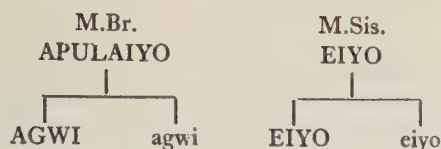
Terms for second and third ascending gener-
ations are the same as M.S.

Ego's own Generation.

As when M.S., there is a distinction between
the paternal and maternal sides. The children of
F.Br. and F.Sis. are all grouped as *MACHO-
KOR, machokor*, while on the maternal side
we have :—

(1) M.Br.S. and D.=*AGWI, agwi*.

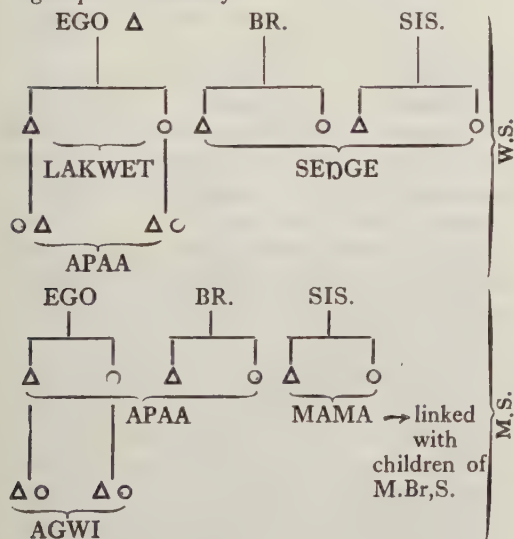
(2) M.Sis.S. and D.=*EIYO, eiyo* :—



W.S.

- (3) Br., Sis.=KESE~~ND~~A, *kesenda*.
First Descending Generation.
 (1) Children of MACHOKOR are also MACHOKOR.
 (2) Ego's children ♂ and ♀=LAKWET, *Lakwet*.
 (3) Children ♂ and ♀ of Br., Sis.=SE~~GE~~, *senge*.

When W.S., children of this generation are grouped differently :

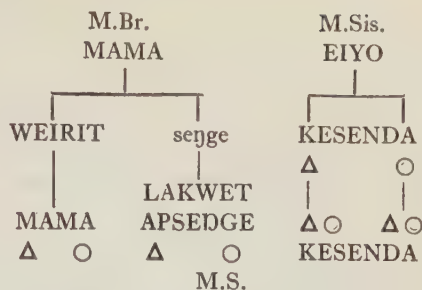


Second Descending Generation.

- (1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of S. and D. = *APAA*, *apaa*, transferred from first descending generation M.S.

Linguistic Analysis of Relationship Terms.

BABA=F., F.Br., M.Sis.H. Allied to Masae *papa*, Bari *baba*, and probably to Ndi *apa* (Gala *aba*), all meaning 'father.'



MAMA=M.Br., M.Br.W. Ndi *mama*, and possibly akin to Bari *mana-ye*.

EIYO=M., M.Sis., F.Br.W. Nandi *yeiyo*, Masae *yeiyo*, and in most of the Nandi dialects for "mother." An occasional alternative for *yeiyo* in Dorobo is *POKINE*, which in Nandi means Hus.Br.W.

AGWI=F.Br., his children and grandchildren.
Nandi *agwi*, Masae *ol-akwi*='grandfather.'
Cf. Bari *akwe* < *kwe*, 'head.'

KOKO=F.M., M.M. Nandi and Masae
koko, 'old woman,' i.e. grandmother. And
 cf. Masae *eng-ōgho*, old woman.

PUKOT=F.Sis. This might be from a stem occurring in Bari *puk*, 'germinate,' but I think it is more likely to be a remnant of the original Dorobo terminology.

KONYIT=F.Sis.H. etc. Nandi *konyit* means 'honour,' and cf. the Masae term *e-sindani* *e-anyit*, 'respected sister in law,'=Br.W. and W.Sis.

KUKO=F.F., M.F. Nandi *kuko* is the masc. form of *koko*, and hence='old man,' i.e. grandfather, like Nandi *inguget*, *ingoget*, the reference forms for *kuko*, *koko*.

MACHOKOR=F.F.F. etc. Nandi *machokor* =S.S. and S.D. The etymology may be Luo *chokore*, 'collect,' hence it would signify 'a collection of relatives.'

MAKIKAT=F.F.M. etc. Not a Nandi term, but perhaps of Nandi origin, i.e. *ma-ki-ikat*, "They are not greeted," because though their names are known, none are ever alive in ego's life-time.

KESENDĀ = Br., Sis., M. Sis. S. and D. Nandi dialect for Br., Sis., the true Nandi being *tupchet*. Possibly < Nandi *kesen*, 'carry a

child,' it being one of the duties of a young girl to carry her small brother or sister.

APAA=children of ego and ego's Br. May be connected etymologically with Nandi *apa*=M.Sis.H., F.Br.S. (*ar'-t'-apa*,) meaning 'father,' and used elliptically in Dorobo to mean '(children of) father.'

APULAIYO=M.Br. < Masae *apula* < *apu*.
SINET=F.Sis., F.Br.W. < stem found in Masae *e-sindani*, 'sister in law.' *Sinet* (W.S.) is thus the equivalent of *pukot* (M.S.) and must mean 'one to whom respect is due.'

The Dorobo normally live in family groups, either one or more elementary families or domestic families¹ forming an extended family, or one or more elementary or domestic families of fellow clansmen, e.g. :

1. (a) *Fraternal group : three brothers*

D.F.	E.F.	E.F.
(Hut 1)	(Hut 2)	(Hut 3)
E. Br.	2 Br.	Y. Br.
+ F. or M.		

1. (b) *Extended patrilocal family*

E.F.	E.F.
(Hut 1)	(Hut 2)
F. and M.	E. son, wife, and children

2. *Clan group*

E.F.	E.F.	
(Hut 1)	(Hut 2)	(Hut 3)
Man and wife	Man and wife	♀ Mother of 1

The people under whose influence a child will come are thus: in (1) (a): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, F.Br., F.Br.W., with F.Br. S. and D. as associates. In (1) (b): F., M., F.F., and F.M. In (2): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, with clansmen as associates. The people normally responsible for the bringing up

¹ Definitions of "family":

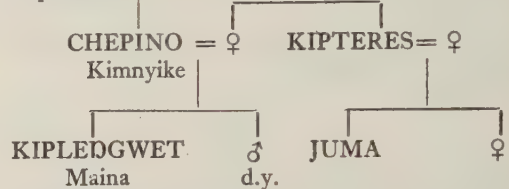
Elementary family=F., M., and children. (E.F.)
Domestic family=a group of people living together in one house or steading, if based on an elementary family, e.g. one husband, two wives, and the children of each wife. (D.F.)

Extended family=a group of families related by genealogy or adoption living together as a defined unit, e.g. Father, and son and his wives and children form a patrilocal extended family. (Ext. F.)

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert; and as primary authorities are to be included: F., M., F.Br., F.Br. W., F.F., F.M.; as secondary authorities, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Sis., F.Sis. H., M.Sis., M.Sis.H., and *tilionutik* (relations) in the persons of clansmen living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and so the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kelpui genealogy,

KIRUWAI=♀

Kipkoiimet



Kipleggwet had hardly ever seen Kipteres, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Juma similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following:

- (1) Children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are classed as *MACHOKOR*.
- (2) Children of M.Sis. are classed with Br. and Sis. as *KESENDA*.
- (3) Children of ego and his Br. are classed as *APAA*.
- (4) Children of M.Br. and ego's Sis. are classed as *MAMA*.
- (5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are *AGWI*.
- (6) The F.Br. takes the place of M.Br.

B. Age-sets and behaviour patterns.

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, *ipinda*, pl. *ipinuagik*, with three age-grades in each sex. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions.

The age-grades, through which a person passes in turn are:

♂	♀
<i>yetik</i> : uncircumcised boys.	<i>Tipik</i> : girls.
<i>Murenik</i> : circumcised men.	<i>Yosotik</i> : married women.
<i>Apaiisiek</i> : elders.	<i>Eygitogisiek</i> : old women.

Boys are *yetik* till circumcised, when they become *murenik* for the 15-year period of their age-set and then *apaiisiek* when the change over occurs.¹ The sub-divisions, *mostinuek*, of the Dorobo age-sets—each set has the same three sub-divisions—are called:

Senior:	<i>Choyiniek</i> .
Middle:	<i>Taparik</i> or <i>Kipalkonek</i> .
Junior:	<i>Ruwakanik</i> or <i>Kiptoiinik</i> .

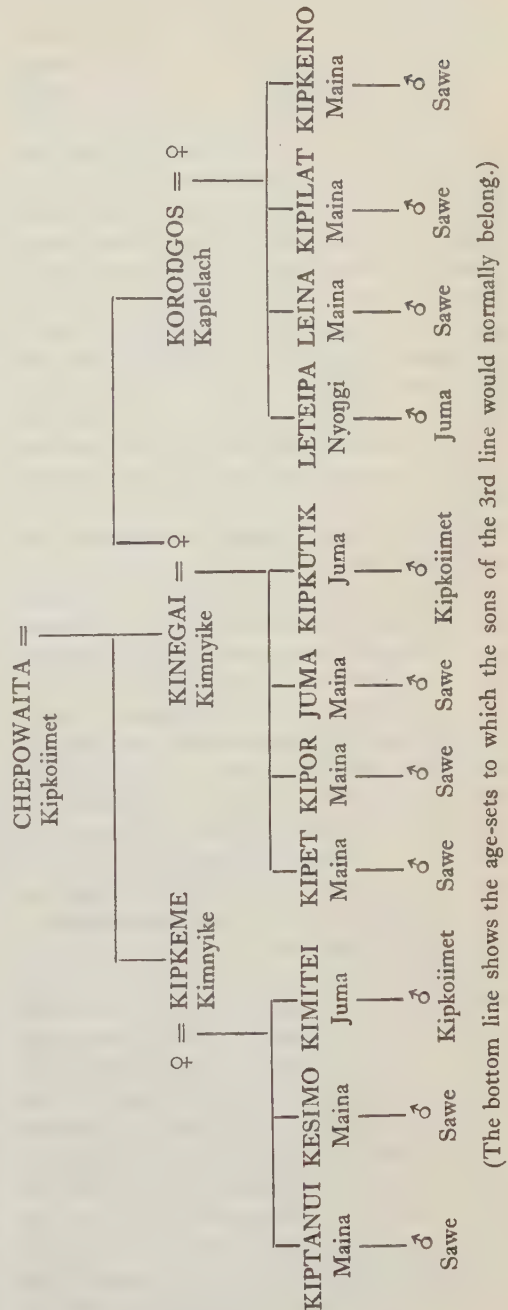
A man belongs normally to the age next but one below that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Eldest son usually belongs to:	Younger sons may belong to:
<i>Kipkoimet</i>	<i>Kimnyike</i>	<i>Nyongi</i>
<i>Kaplelach</i>	<i>Nyongi</i>	<i>Maina</i>
<i>Kimnyike</i>	<i>Maina</i>	<i>Juma</i>
<i>Nyongi</i>	<i>Juma</i>	<i>Sawe</i>
<i>Maina</i>	<i>Sawe</i>	<i>Kipkoimet</i>
<i>Juma</i>	<i>Kipkoimet</i>	<i>Kaplelach</i>
<i>Sawe</i>	<i>Kaplelach</i>	<i>Kimnyike</i>

It may happen, as in Nandi, that a man will be classed with an age next but two below that of his father (as in the last column above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to.

With these terminological features, the resemblance of the Dorobo age-sets to the Nandi ends. They have no military functions at all, and their sole significance is behaviouristic. As an element in social structure the age-sets cut across the formal kinship patterns, and behaviour is not wholly reflected in the kinship system; when the two elements clash, the age-set pattern prevails. In a short summary it is not possible to go into details, but the following genealogy will illustrate it sufficiently:

¹ See J.R.A.I. lvii. 426, for further details of the Nandi age-set.



Although by relationship all these brothers are theoretically equals, as being brothers, yet by reason of their age-grouping different age-sets are found in all three families, with the result that Kimitei and Kipkutik are socially inferior to their brothers Kiptanui, Kesimo, and Kipet, Kipor; while Leina, Kipilat, and Kipkeino are all inferior to Leteipa. So long as they were small this did not matter; but when they reached puberty, the inferiority of their status became noticeable in such things as exclusion from all sexual matters, and is reflected in the general idea that "So and so is only a child, and he must not expect to do the grown-up things that we are allowed to do." The same will apply to the next generation.

The general principles of Dorobo behaviour may be summarised thus (from the standpoint of "ego"):

To the 3rd and 2nd ascending generations: care and respect.

To the 1st ascending generation: respect, obedience (and care when old). Easy and familiar intercourse, but no loose talk or bad language.

To his own generation: considerable latitude is allowed between members of the same generation: obscene talk and jests, discussion of sexual matters and so forth are tolerated, though of course such talk must not become acts. The idea of mutual help and support, which is accorded by all to their parents and grandparents (when these are still alive) is more emphasised in the interrelations of those of the same generation.

To the 1st descending generation: all members of this are treated much as ego treats his own children (and this applies more or less to the 2nd descending generation). In this category are also included those members of one's own generation, e.g. younger brother, who belong to a junior age-set.

To affinals: wife's mother must be avoided, both indoors and out, and must not be spoken to; if met on a road, a man must get off the the road out of her sight. The wife's father need not be avoided, and

may be greeted, though not talked to otherwise. Other relations of the wife are treated as the 1st ascending generation, and their children as one's own. But as men get older, the complete avoidance of their wife's mother tends to relax, though never at any time is there ordinary intercourse between them.

C. The Clan and Marriage Regulations.

Marriage regulations are based on the clan system, and the general rule is that a man may not marry within his clan. The clan, *oret*, is the basis of social organization, and the social aspect of the clan is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils where matters like land boundaries, marriages, and minor offences between clansmen are discussed, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect of the clan rather than on its animal-aspect (i.e. "totem"). The Nandi, for example, talk of *tiond' ap orennyō*, 'the animal of my clan' or *tiondannyo* 'my animal'; whereas the Dorobo say *ornyon*, 'my clan'. There are no prohibitions concerning the clan-animal (*tiondo*), which in fact has no ritual social value, though as a source of food it has an actual social value.

Two clans, Moi and Kapsegoi, have the same *tiondo* (the crested crane), and marriage between these two is allowed, because the *oret* is different, although the *tiondo* is the same. It may be noted, too, that in the case of the Moi, a Moi may marry a Moi woman, provided she belongs to 'another house,' *kot ake*, that is, lives in another district, and is not a blood relation. Clansmen are regarded as *tilionutik*, 'relations' and are addressed as *ornyon*, 'my clan[sman],' or as *ar' t' apaa*, a term not otherwise found in Dorobo, but equivalent to F. Br. S. in Nandi.

The clan animals are:

Kapsegoi.....	} <i>kononyot</i> (crested crane).
Moi.....	
Kipiegen.....	<i>konokchot</i> (baboon).
Kipamwi.....	<i>hemwiyo</i> (duiker).
Kapil.....	<i>toralt</i> (bush-pig).
Toiyoi.....	<i>robta</i> (the rain).
Korapor.....	<i>kimaketyet</i> (hyaena).

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *tiliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *ornyon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *tiliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *hedua* (bride-price)¹ is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *hedua* is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *monōsis*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (*acacia robusta*), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwainonik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Iwot*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities:

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

¹ On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *koret* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sosoio. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them, the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 80 years ago, with the Vasin Gishu Masae; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, eleusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

- 1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
- 1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
- 1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
- 1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
- 2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.¹

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Miniñ acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *mwainonik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *iwot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds² were

¹ A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (*kerepet*) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

² *Tumda*, the wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*); and *Toraet*, the giant hog or bush-pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.¹ There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoiimet ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Mepati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kapchepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter: Meat to

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and buck¹ are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture.²

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group

¹ The buck killed are:

Kipseket, blue duiker (*cepalophus aequatorialis*).
Mindet, red duiker (*c. igna-issaci*).
Keremaitit, bush buck (*tragelaphus scriptus*).
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi

Kipsomeret, water-buck (*cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

² I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

¹ *Sairet*, *Colobus guereza*;

Chereret, *Cercopithecus griseo-viridis*;
Tisiet, Sykes' monkey or *Cercopithecus albigularis*;
Konokhot, the baboon, *Papio cynocephalus*.

shares the *imbaret*, each house having its own strip, the whole being surrounded by a thorn fence which all help to make. Each is therefore a family or clan *imbaret*, and the group is an independent labour unit.

The grain crops are stored either in granaries of Nandi type, or else in the loft (*tapot*) of the hut; but as most of the crop is eaten before or soon after it is reaped, and as the yields are not large owing to the small areas planted, storage problems are not yet acute. Further supplies of food are got (1) by purchase or exchange; (2) by begging

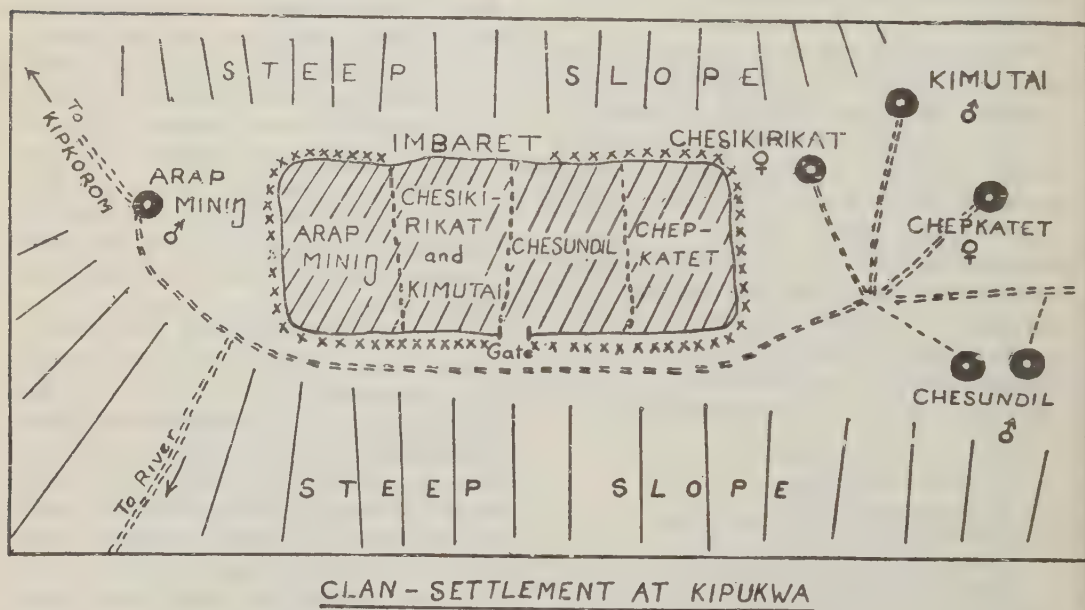
or working for it; (3) by prostitution.

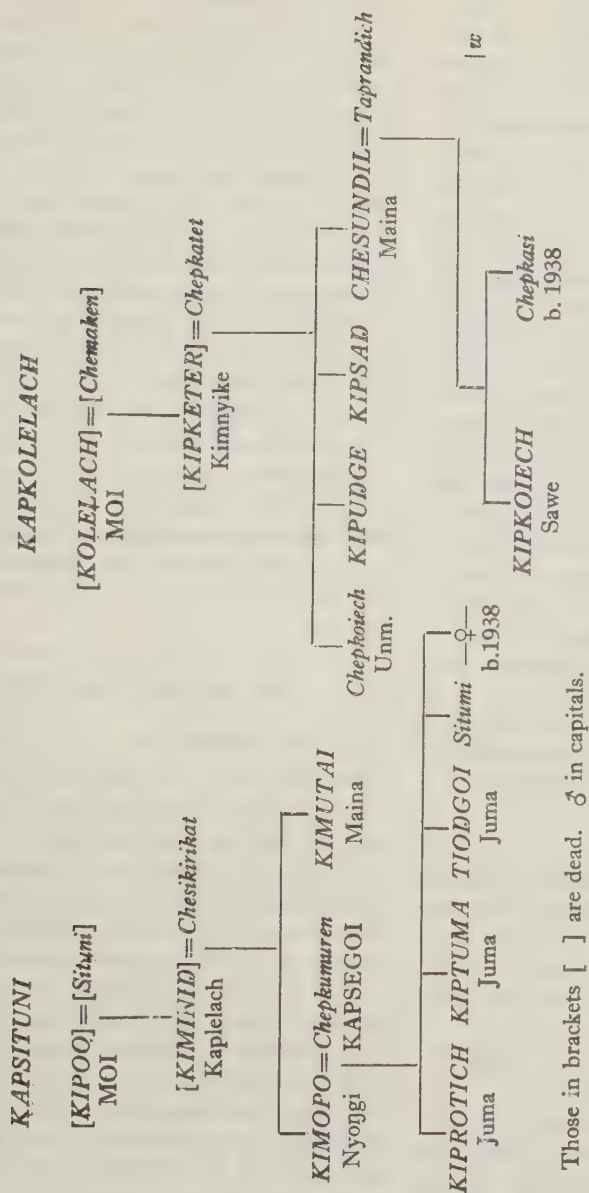
Eleusine is made into beer as well as eaten; honey provides both food and intoxicant (*kipketinik*), and salt is made by burning the leaves of *tepengwet* (*aemilia integrifolia*).

Fig. 1 shows a clan-settlement, and the division of the *imbaret* among the four households which form it.

The relationship between the various members of this settlement is shown in the table on page 195.

Fig. 1





GENEALOGY OF TWO EXTENDED FAMILIES, UNRELATED BUT OF THE SAME CLAN,
LIVING IN ONE SETTLEMENT AT KIPUKWA.

1. Those in italics are living at Kipukwa (i.e. in 1938).
2. The Kapsituni family take their name from a woman. (Kap- here means 'family of.')
3. This table also illustrates age-descent (ipinda), ages being written in roman script, Maina.

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *imbaret* than on hunting.

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and livestock, and in various other small ways.

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far.

The typical Dorobo hut, *kochonget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof.

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Miniñ, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.¹ Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesowiloi* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipiyeck panyek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesowilök, okónech tiony ne kipare.

The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country,

¹ Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

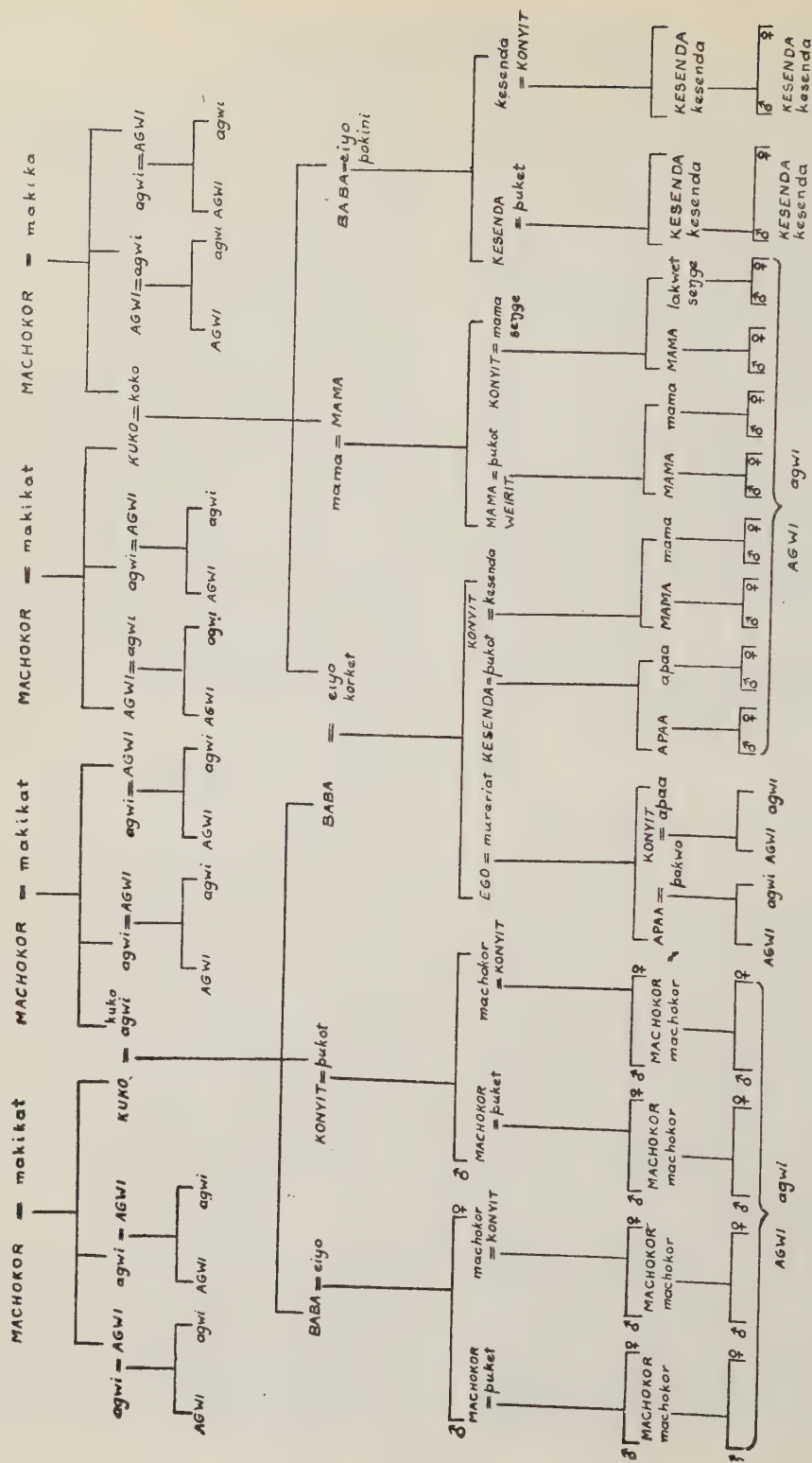
come now and make honey here." Then, blood and fruit must not be eaten on the same day as honey, nor must bits of the comb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Nandi avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Dorobo say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it.

In the ritual treatment of certain actions the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus, a homicide must be rubbed with *eiyyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be oiled with 'butter' (milk shaken in a gourd till it has gone oily and semi-solid); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with *eiyyat*; a sick person whose illness is due to witchcraft must be oiled with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must paint his face with five stripes of white earth—one across the forehead,

one down each side of the nose, and one down the centre of each cheek.

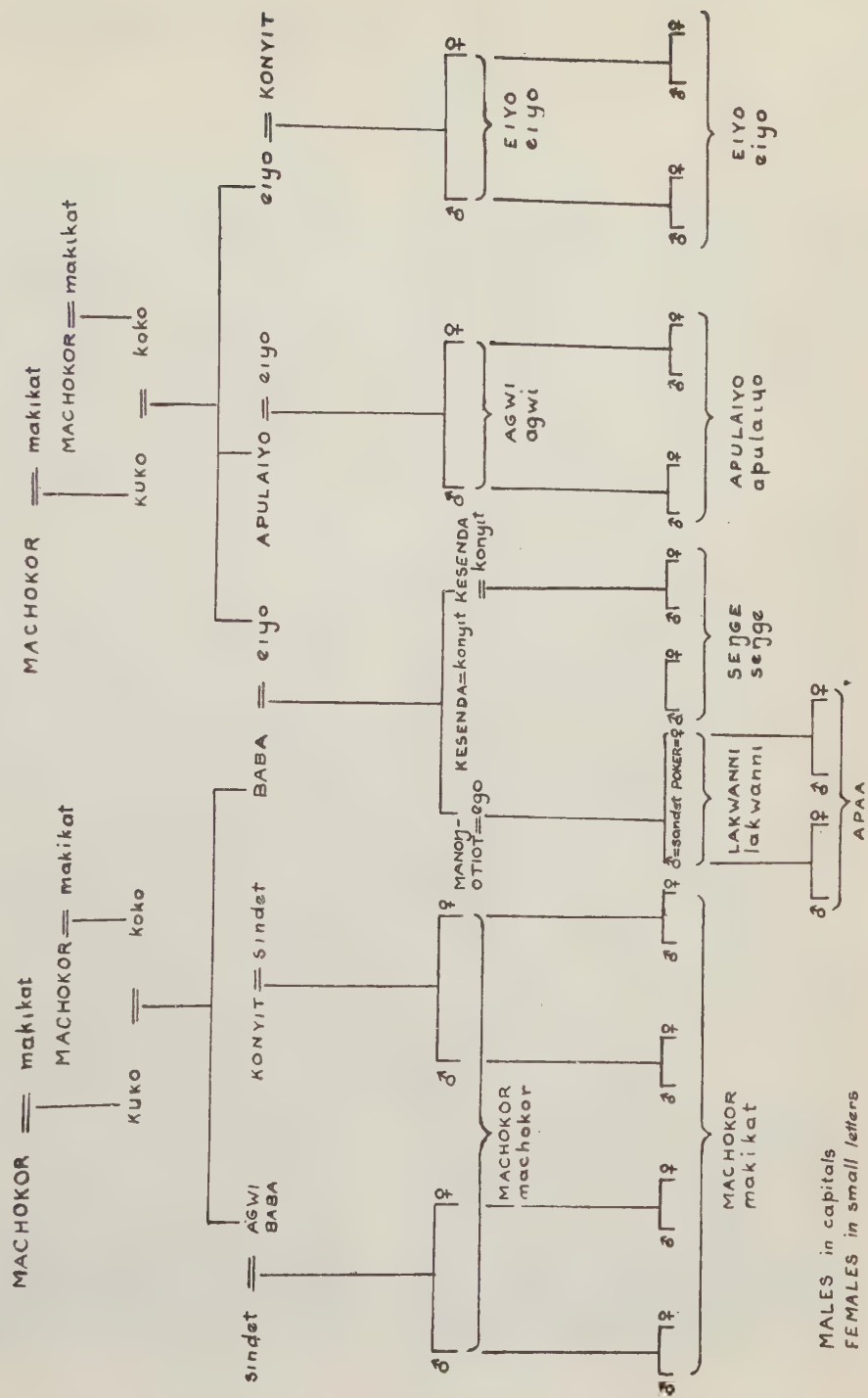
Now it seems that a particular material is not always essential, i.e. for a homicide either a goat or a sheep may be killed to get the *eiyyat*, and a sick man may be anointed either with goat's fat or with butter (though it must be a she-goat). An alternative is thus sometimes just as effective. But an essential feature is that the remedy must be something that is not easy to obtain; till quite recently, few Dorobo had any goats, sheep, or cattle from which they could get the necessary fat, *eiyyat*, or butter, and even now many still lack them; nor does anybody keep a permanent stock of white earth in his hut. The whole procedure is an act of faith as much as anything else, and entails a possibly laborious search for the necessary material. There is also an economic implication, for when people have no stock they must buy the animals they need, so that into what might seem to be a purely ritual transaction, enters an element of business.

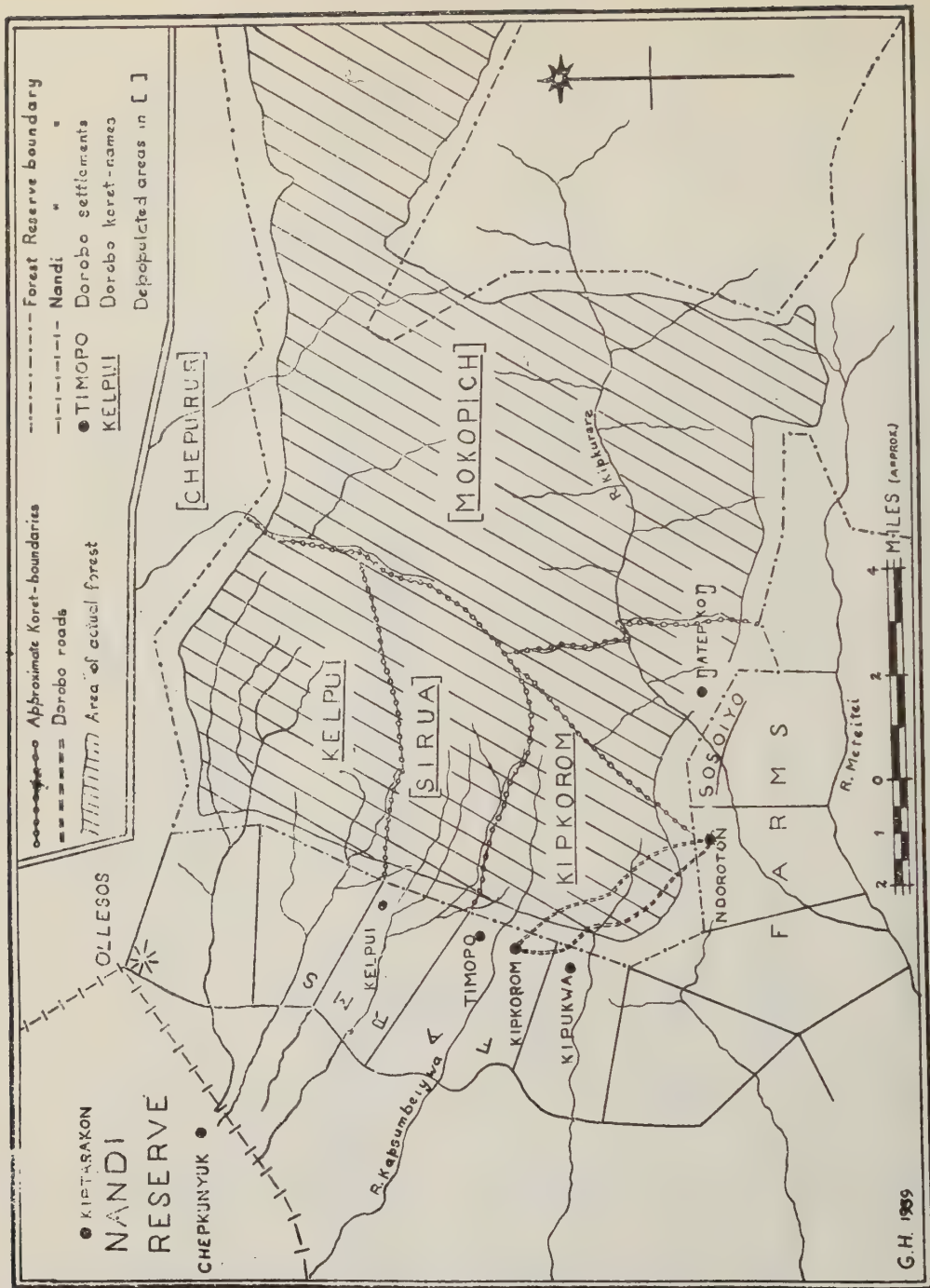
TABLE OF DOROBO RELATIONSHIP TERMS: I ♂ SPEAKING



MALES in capitals
FEMALES in small letters

TABLE OF DOROBO RELATIONSHIP TERMS: II ♀ SPEAKING





SKETCH MAP OF THE KAPCHEPKENDI DOROBO COUNTRY

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION AND NATIVE POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

By N. N. FRANKLIN

South African Native policy may truly be said to stand at the cross-roads; and the conflicting views contained in two recent reports¹ call for the most careful consideration.

The Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission has rendered a notable service to the country. In a report which collects and presents in admirable form the dominant facts in the economic situation of South Africa, it has given us a survey of South Africa's natural resources, a review of its recent economic development, and an analysis of the fundamental requirements for national welfare and economic progress. "The major object of social policy and of economic development" must be to improve the position of the 400,000 Europeans and the nearly eight million non-Europeans who are so poor that they can "neither play a proper rôle in the development of the country nor achieve that degree of well-being which a well-organised society should aim to provide for its members." Given this goal, the Commission's conclusions and recommendations, challenging as many of them are, are, in their main essentials, the logical deductions from the facts it has presented.

Malnutrition threatens to impair the quality of our people. The impending decline in the level of activity of the gold mines makes the problem of poverty yet more urgent. Our resources must be developed to the fullest extent and used in the most economical manner "making due allowance for social effects" (i.e. subject to overriding social considerations of a non-economic character). The fact that agriculture contributes only one-

eighth of the national income while employing nearly two-thirds of the population means that the movement to the towns—of Natives as well as of Europeans—is a natural and economically desirable response to the greater productivity (and therefore higher earnings) of labour employed in urban occupations, and is to be encouraged. Natural resources render considerable industrial development possible. We must look mainly to industry to absorb our growing population and the increasing influx of people from rural areas. But we shall not make the best use of our resources unless our economy is attuned to the requirements of world trade. Industrial development should not be encouraged by an indiscriminate use of tariffs and other means of assistance. "Industry can provide a substitute for gold mining when this important industry declines only if it is ultimately established on a self-supporting basis." This means that industrial costs must be considerably reduced.²

Here the Commission gets on to shakier ground. "Rationalisation" and extension of licensing control over industry are attended by dangers of which the Commission is not unaware, but which call for fuller consideration than they receive in this (interim) report. But it is in the field of labour policy that the Commission's intentions are perhaps least clear. We are promised a further report making specific recommendations relating to industrial development; and this may

² There can be no doubt that, under the stimulus of war, overseas countries have made and are making great strides in the direction of increased industrial efficiency. Britain after the war will be faced with the need for launching a great export drive. The mass production of goods in the most efficient establishments, and the concentration upon "utility" designs, should enable her to export much more cheaply than before the war. Other countries are likely to be in a similar position. The magnitude of the task of establishing South African industry on a self-supporting basis in the face of the strenuous competition that is almost certain to prevail can scarcely be exaggerated.

¹ This article is a review of two Blue books and a pamphlet. The Blue books are the *Third Interim Report of the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission*, (van Eck Report) U.G. 40 of 1941, 5s. 6d. and the *Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1939-40*, U.G. 42 of 1941, 3s. 6d.; the pamphlet is Miss Eleanor Hawarden's *Labour and the New Economic Policy*, Institute of Race Relations, 1s.

be expected to clarify matters considerably. But in the meantime it is by no means evident how far the Commission is prepared to go in the direction of advocating that equality of opportunity in the labour market without which we cannot make the most productive use of our resources. Many more Natives must be employed in industry; "some relaxation of existing restrictions" on the employment of Native labour will be necessary; and "proper training should become the keynote of the Union's labour policy." But "to maintain White civilisation in the Union, the Europeans must be given an opportunity to maintain an ascendancy by the development and proper use of their superior faculties. If (more openings for unskilled workers) are created mainly in the branches of industry which are specially suited to Europeans, and undesirable contact between Europeans and non-Europeans is prevented, the racial interests of both sections of the community would be safeguarded satisfactorily, while the latent objections to the employment of more non-Europeans in manufacturing industry as a whole would be removed." It seems clear that European workers are to be given preference in the provision of opportunities and training facilities.³ But the "superior faculties" of Europeans should not be taken for granted. Is there any evidence to suggest that capital invested in training European unskilled workers would yield greater returns in the way of increased productivity than capital invested in training other unskilled workers? If not, preferential treatment could not be justified on economic grounds. Could it be justified as an overriding social necessity? We must take realistic account of deeply-rooted racial feelings and social attitudes; but we must beware of identifying sectional interests with those of society."

The Commission is of opinion that "a gradual increase of Native wages is most desirable." There are two ways in which the average rate of Native wages could be raised. One is by giving Natives access to better-paid occupations, at present virtually reserved for Europeans. The other is by raising wage-rates in the lowest-paid

occupations, in which, no doubt, the great majority of Natives must for very many years continue to be employed. Despite its insistence that "some relaxation of existing restrictions" will be necessary, it is the latter method which the Commission seems to have chiefly in mind (para. 191). Other recommendations for relieving poverty are the subsidisation of the food consumption of the poor (as a temporary measure) and an extension of social services, particularly housing and medical services. More specific recommendations regarding the financing of social services would have been welcome, and would seem to fall within the scope of the enquiry which the Commission has set itself.

Miss Hawarden's commentary on the Report is an excellent piece of popular writing—lucid, persuasive and stimulating. She explains both the nature of the concessions from European labour which will be necessary if the Commission's recommendations are to be implemented, and the reasons why they will be necessary. She argues that, provided they receive guarantees of a rapid industrial expansion, European trade unionists can reasonably, and in their own ultimate interests, be asked to agree to a "freezing" of skilled wage rates for some time to come, to withdraw their opposition to the entry of Natives into industry as unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and to relax restrictions on the rate of admission of European skilled workers; but she is not convinced of the necessity for "a reclassification of skilled categories, which in effect means lower pay for some groups of workers." She is right to emphasise the hardships entailed if standards of living are lowered; but very many people in this country, including many who are apparently far from being directly dependent on the gold-mines, are threatened by the impending decline in the level of gold-mining activity with the prospect of having to accept a lower standard of living—a prospect which, on the view which Miss Hawarden accepts, only rapid industrial expansion can avert. Possibly she under-estimates the importance of artificially high wage-rates in certain occupations as a factor raising industrial costs? The Customs Tariff Commission reported that "the evidence

³ *Vide* especially paras. 171, 176, 253.

we have received is nearly unanimous on the point that the wage-rates payable to European labour in South Africa are much higher than those paid in countries which compete in the South African market."⁴ It stated categorically that "the greatest competitive drawback of South African industry is the high cost of European labour," and was of opinion that, given prevailing wage-rates, "protection is an essential condition for the continued existence of local industry."⁵ It seems unlikely that we shall be able both to maintain prevailing wage-rates in all occupations and to reach the state of affairs contemplated by the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission, in which "the need for permanent protection of manufacturing industry in the Union will largely disappear." (If protective tariffs and the level of domestic industrial costs are indeed to be lowered, some reduction in money wage-rates would be compatible with the maintenance of present standards of living).

Miss Hawarden's insistence that trade unions are entitled to receive "fully adequate guarantees that there will in fact be an industrial expansion so rapid that it will absorb all the men trained" seems to place the responsibility for engineering the expansion entirely upon the government or employers. But the rate of development must inevitably depend in no small measure on the efficiency and adaptability of labour; and the number of men who can be absorbed by expanding industry clearly depends, *ceteris paribus*, upon the wage for which they stand out.

Miss Hawarden rightly insists that sacrifices will be required from other sections of the community besides European labour—from the higher income groups, notably in the form of heavily increased taxation to pay for social services; and from many Natives who will have to abandon aspirations to land and cattle and become permanent industrial workers.⁶ Her

pamphlet provides a most useful basis for discussion of the Commission's recommendations, and is an appeal to reason and goodwill which should be widely read and considered.

If we must look mainly to industrial development to lighten our burden of poverty, and if industrial development requires a relaxation of restrictions and the employment of much more Native labour in industry, a fundamental re-orientation of Native policy is called for. The Native Affairs Commission upholds the policy embodied in recent legislative and administrative measures. Its sincerity in doing so need not be questioned (do not its strictures on the critics who call in question the sincerity of "European intentions" (p. 5) betray undue sensitiveness in this matter?) But the validity of its fundamental assumptions and the consistency of its reasoning must be subjected to careful scrutiny. This task is made more difficult by the vagueness of its language at certain crucial points. In the following paragraph the Commission's own words are quoted as far as possible.

The Commission views with alarm the movement of Natives to the towns—a movement which is "so universally encouraged by employers and altruists alike." "It is a natural industrial urge to increase the efficiency of production by converting casual into permanent Native workers;" but it is an urge which threatens to convert the "Bantu nation" into "the labouring class in a thoroughly capitalistic state, depending entirely for their subsistence on the wages they earned, without the political power or the economic cohesion which would be accorded in a homogeneous community." We shall be failing in our duty of trusteeship if we allow the Bantu to become a "submerged proletariat." The movement to the towns must be further checked. "Measures designed merely to offer a counter attraction to the drift to the towns will fail. Greater compulsion will have to be applied to those on whom the

preferred conditions, but rather that they should be given greater opportunity to exercise the preference which, given prevailing conditions, is leading so many of them to flock into towns. Failure to recognise this leads to the kind of argument put forward by the Native Affairs Commission, which is discussed below.

⁴ U.G. 2 of 1936, para. 122. *Vide also Report of the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission*, U.G. 40 of 1941, paras. 107 ff.

⁵ U.G. 2 of 1936, para. 126.

⁶ The sacrifice demanded from Natives will be a sacrifice of aspirations, not of economic welfare. It is not proposed that Natives should be dragooned into giving up preferred conditions of life for less

responsibility rests to restrict all urban entry, or the State must itself exercise the necessary control." "There can be a Bantu nation in South Africa, every member of which can be proud to be a South African. . . . The ideal is re-create a Bantu world which shall be enlightened by our religion and ethics, and instructed by our economic experience, whether that world lives and works in European areas or whether it is separate from Europeans as in the Native Reserves; a world in which the interests of each in its own sphere shall be paramount without detriment to the other." This will necessitate "the utmost development of the Native Reserves;" but notwithstanding such development the "Bantu world" will to a considerable extent work, if not live, in European areas, if for no other reason than that "the European economy is dependent on the so-called unskilled labour of the Natives." "It is assumed that the human spill-over from current agricultural needs in the Reserves will supply the labour markets of the Union. In this machine age, when the need for skilled operatives is becoming proportionately less with the growing mechanisation of all productive operations, the temporary character of our Reserve Native labour may be no more of a deterrent to efficiency in many industries than it is in gold-mining. While the bulk of mining and industrial labour continues, as at present, to be drawn from the Reserves, and ultimately returns with its labour rewards to build up the Reserve economy, the policy will be economically effective."

These excerpts are, I think, a fair summary of the Commission's main thesis.⁷ The following

⁷ But it is worth noticing that, besides its desire to preserve the Bantu from the fate of becoming a "submerged proletariat," the Commission has another reason for wishing to restrict the flow of Natives to the towns: "As the emphasis towards urbanisation grows, the threat to the existence of the gold mines by the drain on their natural labour resources, practically all of which lie in the Native Reserves or in territories beyond the borders of the Union, will be equalled only by the parlous state of European agriculture." Placing the two reasons in juxtaposition brings into relief the kind of muddle that is involved in the Commission's concept of "trusteeship." The Commission finds itself in the curious position of arguing that we must save the Natives from falling victims to industry's demand for cheap labour—if we do not,

comments and questions suggest themselves.

(a) "Development of the Reserves" means presumably the investment of capital in these territories with a view to increasing their productivity—capital which could otherwise be used for other purposes. The desirability of developing the Reserves must be balanced against the desirability of developments in other directions—the productivity (in terms of welfare) of capital invested in the Reserves balanced against the productivity of capital invested in, say, training schemes for industrial labour, or urban housing schemes. To say simply that the "utmost development of the Reserves" is necessary is to ignore the fundamental economic problem of the allocation of scarce means between alternative uses.

(b) If a given amount of capital is devoted to developing the Reserves, will it yield more welfare if it is used to provide for the partial support of a larger number of people, or for the full support of a smaller number of people? Verbal jugglery with the concepts of a nation within a nation and a world within a country does not conceal the fact that the Commission favours the former alternative—that its intention is that the Reserves should be used to provide what Senator Heaton Nicholls has elsewhere⁸ called "family anchorages," from which the men would go out intermittently to earn wages in European areas, presumably leaving their wives and children behind. The social problems to which this disintegration of family and social life gives rise, both in the towns and in the Reserves, are not

the supplies of even cheaper labour to the mines and farms will be jeopardised.

The "threat" to the continued existence of mines and farms is of course a threat only to the less efficient producers in each group—those who, at prevailing wage-rates, benefit at the expense of their more efficient competitors by retaining in their employment workers of whose services the latter could make better use if it were not for institutional factors which prevent or deter them from offering higher wages to attract the additional labour they require. *Vide* Prof. S. H. Frankel: *Capital Investment in Africa*, p. 143.

⁸ In an article in *The Forum*, 31 August, 1941, in which he outlines much more clearly the kind of plan which the Native Affairs Commission seems to have in mind.

considered.⁹ The Commission apparently wishes to preserve the distinctive features of African culture; but could it have suggested a better way of destroying them? And economically the wastefulness of such an arrangement seems too obvious to be denied.

(i) One of the major causes of poverty in this country is, in Professor Frankel's words,¹⁰ "the widespread reliance on a growing class of casual labour which, restricted in its economic opportunities and standards of remuneration, moves continually from one industry to another, from town to country, and from the Native reserves to the European economy and *vice versa*. This implies that the Union's economy is denied those benefits of specialisation which are so important in modern production. Instead of a working population growing in skill and specialised abilities, and well adapted to specific tasks, all enterprise is burdened by a high labour turnover which elsewhere has been long recognised as a basic cause of inefficiency and industrial unrest. What in South Africa is still regarded, fallaciously, as a great advantage, namely the possibility of substituting any one Native worker by another at a moment's notice, is the result of reducing the labour force to a uniform level, whose common denominator is inefficiency and whose effects are a low national income." The Commission's vaguely-outlined proposals involve increasing, or at least perpetuating, our reliance on casual migratory labour. (Its suggestion that "the temporary character of Reserve Native labour may be no more of a bar to efficiency in many industries than it is in gold-mining" ignores the fact that it would be highly wasteful to restrict the use of Native labour to occupations—if there are such occupations—in which the work is so simple that training and experience count for little or nothing). Casual workers of this type, deprived of the prospect of obtaining any permanent place for themselves or their families in the economy of the European areas, would

have little incentive to put forth their best efforts; the value of their services, and therefore their wages, would inevitably remain very low.

(ii) Another source of waste would be the time lost in travelling between home and place of work (and travelling expense would take a large bite out of wages).

(iii) The wisdom of dividing the Reserves up into a large number of small allotments is very questionable. South African natural conditions are not favourable for small-scale farming, and are in general more suitable for pastoral farming than for crop-growing.

(c) If the Commission looks through rose-coloured spectacles at the prospects which the "family anchorage" policy holds out for Africans, it looks through very dark glasses at the prospect held out by the alternative policy of allowing Africans greater freedom to exercise the preference which, in present circumstances, so many of them are showing for living in the towns. Its picture of the Bantu as "a submerged proletariat, entirely divorced from the land" and "denied political power and economic cohesion," is not a pleasing one. But the Reserves will not disappear if the movement of Natives to the towns is allowed to proceed more freely. No amount of "development" that is practicable is likely to enable these areas fully to support their present population, even at a bare subsistence level; but they could support a smaller population, "exporting" not its labour but the produce of its land in return for "imports," and living an integrated family and social life. And what of the Natives who would settle permanently in the towns? Is it not for those who have the interests of the Natives, and of the country at heart, to devote their energies not to attempting "to recreate a Bantu world," but to the task of relaxing as far as possible all colour bar restrictions on the freedom of opportunity of Natives, and securing the improvements in housing and the extension of social services which the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission contemplates? And would not a compact body of permanent Native industrial workers, even if political rights

⁹ Not considered, at least, in those sections of the Report in which the Commission propounds its more general views on Native policy.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

continued to be denied to them,¹¹ have far more power to press their own just claims than a shifting population of casual migratory workers? Can it be seriously supposed that, given a more productive utilisation of our resources, the conditions of life of Native town-dwellers could not be improved beyond all comparison with present conditions?

(d) The Commission has the greatest horror of "assimilation," by which it apparently means the disappearance of racial and cultural differences. But progressive changes in the direction of greater equality of opportunity would not necessarily involve "assimilation" in this sense; and even complete equality of opportunity would only be followed by "assimilation" if a substantial number of members of both races lost the will to preserve distinctive racial and cultural characteristics.

The Commission believes that "the path of development has been clearly defined. Along that path, and in conformity with our national policy, unlimited opportunities lie waiting. To reject these opportunities in favour of some egalitarian ideal which runs counter to the whole political history and outlook of South Africa, and which takes no note of anthropological and economic realities, is merely to raise antagonisms which can defeat all advance." Those who

think that it is the policy advocated by the Native Affairs Commission which ignores economic and anthropological realities will naturally be glad to be able to quote General Smuts' address on "The Basis of Trusteeship" and the Report of the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission in support of their views.

This review has concentrated upon the two sections of the Report (Appendices A and B) in which the Commission propounds its more general views on Native policy. These sections, complacent in tenor, attempt no systematic presentation of the main facts in the situation. Other appendices, dealing with specific topics, are more informative, and recognise clearly enough the existence of urban problems which cannot be dealt with simply by the negative method of restricting the entry of Natives into urban areas. Among positive measures recommended by the Commission are the setting aside of sub-urban allotments for the families of urban workers, and larger contributions by municipalities towards the housing of their Natives. Very welcome is the Commission's insistence that "there is no logical or ethical reason for the general practice now adopted by municipalities of making the Native pay for all Native services." Appendix I, reporting on the activities of the Native Trust, contains much interesting and some encouraging information; many of the issues it raises have been discussed in an earlier number of this journal.¹² Particularly interesting is an account of an experiment in the Letaba district for the collective growing of vegetables for sale in Native townships.

¹² Edith B. Jones: "South African Native Land Policy," *Bantu Studies*, June 1940.

¹¹ Is it compatible with our "trusteeship" of a "child race" to continue to withhold political rights from such of our wards as can no longer be regarded as "children"? On the Commission's interpretation of the concept of trusteeship, the Bantu people would no doubt be accorded such rights in their own "world" as might be supposed necessary to promote the healthy life of the "Bantu nation"; but the political position of those who, even in the Commission's view, would have to continue to live in the European "world," or to spend large parts of their life in it, is not discussed.

SHIMWALULE: A STUDY OF A BEMBA CHIEF AND PRIEST

By VERNON BRELSFORD

I. INTRODUCTION

The Bemba are a Bantu tribe of Luba extraction now living on the high plateau of North-eastern Northern Rhodesia. Numerically the tribe is one of the largest in the Territory, being estimated at 140,000 people. Anthropologically they have been studied by Dr. Audrey Richards, and although her book—*Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, deals mainly with the economic life of the tribe, she has also published material on its political and social structure.¹ But a full-dress study of chieftainship is still awaited, and this article is a contribution to it. It is a particular investigation of a chieftainship that stands outside the main lines of chiefly lineage. The Shimwalule is the hereditary undertaker or burial priest to certain chiefs of the Bemba royal clan. He is classed as a chief himself by tradition as well as by the Administration, although, as will be seen, this classification gives rise to many problems at the present time. His functions are important politically as well as spiritually, and Dr. Richards has aptly compared his position in the Bemba tribe to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury in English political life.

Units of this large Bemba tribe are scattered over six administrative Districts, but the main feature of political life, a strong centralised chieftainship, is not handicapped by this division. As Dr. Richards has pointed out in the latter of the two works referred to, "the integration of the tribe depends chiefly on the sentiment of tribal cohesion and loyalty to the Paramount, and the means by which the activities of the different districts are brought under one control in this widely dispersed group." All appointments and inheritances of chieftainships in all the six administrative Districts are made by Paramount Chief Chitimukulu in Council, and the modern innovation of tribal treasuries has done much to

augment the old unity. The main tribal treasury is at Provincial Headquarters in Kasama, which is close to the Paramount's village, and the five other districts have sub-treasuries controlled by the main one.

The system of hereditary appointments is such that the death of one chief may, and usually does, result in a sort of "general post" in several administrative Districts as various chiefs move up one into the vacancies originating in the one death in the hierarchy of chieftainship. Only members of the royal clan, i.e. those of the crocodile totem, can become Paramount, but in addition to this main avenue of advancement, there are side roads along which other branches of ruling families, of the main or other totems, can progress. The main line to the Paramouncy is matrilineal, as are most of the other family lines to other important chieftainships. But there is a side line consisting of a series of chieftainships of rising importance, culminating in the Makasaship, that is open to sons of the royal family.

The Shimwalule forms one of the exceptions to this routine of movement. He inherits the one position, of undertaker, and no other. There are one or two other chieftainships which also represent such dead ends, but these, as well as the obstacles that have to be surmounted in the more normal advancements to importance and prestige, are not relevant to this paper.

This brief introduction merely indicates that the history of Bemba chieftainship has many ramifications, and it seems probable that several detailed descriptions and investigations of the various posts will have to be made before all the historical and social implications of this still powerful structure can be appreciated. I need not say more here as the works of Dr. Richards supply the main political and social background to this study.

This investigation has been made as complete as possible by the sections on the peculiarities of

¹ *Journal of Royal African Society*, October, 1935, also her chapter in *African Political Systems*, (1940).

land tenure connected with the Shimwalule chieftainship and by the last section on administrative problems. These latter, in which I have been personally involved, are illustrative of the snags of tradition that are often hit by the barque of progressive indirect rule.

II. MWALULE

The burial ground of the Bemba Royal Chiefs is called *Mwalule* and is a thick jungle-like grove of indigenous trees with a patch of exotics mentioned below. In addition to its natural dimness, the combination of legend and association with death make the grove one of the most eerie places in the country.

The thick patch of forest, *Mushitu*, is situated on the north bank of the Mikunku stream and is nearly a quarter of a mile long and sometimes nearly two hundred yards wide. Upstream and downstream the course of the river is marked by a belt of thick bush for about four miles each way, but only this small patch, distinct from that along the river, is used. At the south-eastern edge of this patch, where the village of Shimwalule is situated, there are great patches of palm trees that the Bemba call Milemba. Botanically the trees are not palms but belong to the lily family and their full name is *Dracaena fragrans*. Opinion among the elders is divided concerning the origin of the palms. Some say they were there when the Bemba arrived at Mwalule. But others say that the Bemba carried cuttings of them from their original home in Kola, on the other side of the Luapula in the Belgian Congo, and at one time they used to assert that they would not grow anywhere else except at Mwalule. Actually, of course, the trees are well known in parts of Tanganyika and the Rhodesias, and now that cuttings actually from Mwalule are growing at Mbesuma and Chinsali the Natives have dropped the idea that they will not grow anywhere else.

Here at Mwalule in the damp streamside the palms grow thirty feet high from great trunks that can hardly be spanned, and spread out into twisted masses of branches that form dim tunnels.

The Bemba are one of the units that left the great Luba kingdom of West Central Africa prob-

ably in the 18th Century and trekked across the Congo and a great part of Northern Rhodesia before reaching their present home.

Mwalule was chosen as the burial place of the royal chiefs almost at the end of the great trek, but before the present site of the Paramount's village had been reached. The Bemba had raided south, down into Lala country and had then returned northwards, crossing the Luangwa into what is now the Lundazi district. Here they made friends with the Chewa chief Mwase. But Chitimukulu fell in love with Chilimbulu, one of Mwase's wives, intrigued, it is said, by the cicatrisation marks on her stomach. There was a fight and Chitimukulu was killed by a poisoned arrow. His successor, Nkole, avenged his death and burnt the bodies of Mwase and Chilimbulu.

(The skin of the stomach of Chilimbulu decorated with the cicatrisation marks was preserved. According to Mutumbalilo, an ex-Shimwalule, it was cut into two pieces, one piece being kept at Mwalule and the other among the relics of Chitimukulu. The latter piece, it is said, is taken out and used by the headwife of the Paramount during the annual sowing ceremony).

The body of Chitimukulu was preserved in the traditional Bemba fashion and the *ulendo* continued, now looking for a suitable place to bury the chief. The cow hide, the traditional shroud of chiefs, was obtained by a raid on the cattle-owning Wafipa of what is now Isoka district.

At this point it is necessary to go back in history for some years.

The point where the Bemba had cast off the Bisa had become the area of the most important Bisa chief, Mungulube. The Bisa had remained when the Bemba went on to Ilala. One of Mungulube's most important headmen was named Kabotwe, and this man was destined to become the first Shimwalule. He was an expert honey-maker. Just about the time that the Bemba column was approaching the grove that is now Mwalule, there was a famine in the Bisa country and Kabotwe set off with a store of honey to trade for food. He came to the Mambwe village of Chinimba situated at the south-eastern edge of the grove, which was then Mambwe

country. At this village he met a woman Chimbala, who had gathered a large hoard of *ndao* (a grass whose tuberous roots are edible). He exchanged some of his honey for these, and being attracted to Chimbala stayed at the village for some days. Chimbala, who is to play an important part in the future history, was herself a queer person. Her first home had been at Chikutwe, in what is now Lubemba in the Kasama district, and she was a Lungu, one of the tribes then occupying that area. She had quarrelled with her family and had run away to friends at Chinimba. This village was a Mambwe village. The story is scanty but that is how the Bakabilo (hereditary Bemba councillors) describe her origin.

Whilst Kabotwe was relaxing at Chinimba the advance guard of the Bemba arrived. They were struck with the idea of the grove, which was gloomy with indigenous trees before the palms were planted, as a burial ground, and they renewed acquaintance with their old fellow-tribesman Kabotwe. They then returned to Chitimukulu Nkole and told him of the grove. He approved of it as a burial ground and sent word that Kabotwe must first take a wife and then bury Chitimukulu. (I have failed to discover why Kabotwe should be so chosen). Kabotwe agreed to become undertaker and married Chimbala.

When the Bemba arrived Kabotwe buried Chitimukulu and the grove was given the name Mwalule. (Again I cannot discover anything beyond the explanation that Mwalule means "the royal cemetery.") The Mambwe were driven away from Chinimba and Kabotwe became Shimwalule. (The big hill that can be seen from the grove is still known as Chinimba).

After a short time the Bemba went on, leaving Shimwalule and Chimbala to look after the grave and with orders to bury future chiefs. Chitimukulu promised that of whatever booty or wealth they should find in the future he would remember to send back a portion to Shimwalule as his reward for being the royal undertaker. This promise to send back wealth was kept, and in the past the Shimwalule used to receive ivory, cattle and sa't, not only from Chitimukulu but also from Nkulu, Mwamba and Nkweto. The

Shimwaluleship therefore became a post to be coveted, and from Kabotwe onwards there follows a history of intrigue and murder from the repeated attempts by envious claimants to obtain the post. Nowadays the only presents received are of cloth from the four chiefs, but the post is still an honoured one, for Chitimukulu makes repeated attempts to give Shimwalule a rate of pay from the treasury quite out of proportion to the size and population of his area or to his non-priestly functions.

There is one further point concerning the guardianship of the grove. In addition to Kabotwe and Chimbala, two of the wives, Mpese and Fumbe, of the deceased Chitimukulu had been left at Mwalule as guardians. These became *bamukabenye*, wives of the ancestral spirits. And when Kabotwe died—a natural death—Chimbala also became a *Mukabenye*. Descendants of these three women—Chimbala, Fumbe and Mpese—still live at Mwalule. There are three huts built for them in a small clearing in the *Milemba* palms a few yards from the village. The post is hereditary but is occupied only by a *mushimbe*, a woman who has no husband either through death or divorce. Moreover, the woman must be old and past the age of child-bearing, for no woman who has any sexual contact with men must be allowed to look upon the *babanye* (relics). The descent follows the usual way through younger sisters and granddaughters and so on, but the women with husbands are passed over. The relationship is followed to its utmost ramifications to find such a woman, and if one is not available immediately, the post of that particular name lapses until one does become available. Food is provided for them by the chief, and although they have their own little huts in the grove there is little restriction on their movements. They may leave the village on visits, but they can only visit and sleep at villages where they have female descendants, and they must be present at Mwalule, just as the Bakabilo must, for the monthly ceremonies. Their actual functions, as are many of those of the Bakabilo, are still regarded as too secret to tell to outsiders.

The chiefs who may be buried at Mwalule are

Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Mkula and Nkweto. Chewe was also buried there but this chieftainship is now extinct. But there is one woman buried there among the chiefs. She is Ngoshye Mukote, who was the mother of Nkula when the Bemba first arrived at Mwalule. She was so taken with the place that she asked to be buried there. Her wish was granted. The Shimwalule also has the right to be buried at Mwalule, and some of them are, even though they die in retirement, but they are put some distance from the royal chiefs. I have also heard it said that mothers and sisters of the chiefs mentioned may be buried there. If they are, and Mutambalilo informed me that if they expressed a wish to be they would not be refused, they are buried also some distance from the royal chiefs. Why Ngoshye is specially mentioned is, I believe, that she is buried among the Chitimukulus. The *Mukabenye* are buried just outside the northern edge of the grove.

It is extremely difficult to get a complete list of the corpses. The memory of the guardians cannot cope with it and I have not attempted it.

III. THE HISTORY OF THE CHIEFTAINSHIP

The following history leaves several blanks, not only in the list of Shimwalules, but also in the list of Chiefs buried at Mwalule. I tell the story as it was told to me, and it makes a coherent tale in spite of the fact that many names are missing. There is a list of Shimwalules in the Chinsali District notebook but the memory of the informants cannot now fit them into a continuous history.

Kabotwe, the first Shimwalule, died a natural death. His sister Mumbimutangwa had given birth to ten sons, among whom the succession passed so swiftly through a welter of blood and murder that eight of them and one outsider held the chieftainship one after the other. The last two brothers died before their turn to succeed came along.

Mumbimutangwa's eldest son, Mukupa, first inherited the post, but he did not live long enough to bury any chief. His mother disliked his actions, and began the series of murders by pull-

ing off the bark cloth from her private parts and striking her next son Chipwepwe on the face with it, saying, "Go and kill Mukupu, you dog, and inherit from him for he hates us all!" Chipwepwe killed his brother with a spear, and thus began what is sometimes said to be an old tradition—that the Shimwalule must be killed by his successor. The other half of the well known tradition—that a Shimwalule must bury only one Chitimukulu—is still kept, but the more violent custom was not always followed. I doubt if it ever was an established method of getting rid of a Shimwalule who had buried one Chitimukulu, but imagine that in the intrigues to obtain the chieftainship the murder of the holder was often the simplest road to success.

Chipwepwe did bury a Mwamba, but he in his turn was killed by the next brother, Ndubwila, after a very short reign. Ndubwila held the throne a still shorter period; he buried no one and was killed by the brother, Chibwelafunda. The latter buried Chitimukulu Kasansu, and then died a natural death, thus breaking for an interval the murder sequence. But after his death none of his brothers would succeed, for they were all frightened of being murdered like their three eldest brothers. So it was necessary to send back to the Bisa under chief Mungulube to find a more distant descendant of Kabotwe to succeed. This was Kapekele, who lived to bury Nkula Chewe and his mother, Ngoshye Mukote, who, as we have said, is the only woman buried among the chiefs at Mwalule. Kapekele died a natural death, and now that the series of violent deaths seemed ended, the fifth of the ten brothers was persuaded to inherit and thus bring the descent back to its proper line. This was Mwashye, and although he did not live long enough to bury any Chitimukulu, he died a natural death. The sixth brother, Fula, inherited. He buried Nkweto Muntanshi and Chitimukulu Chilesbye, but the murders began again and he was speared by the seventh brother Kachesa.

In the general history of the Bemba we have now reached the age of the famous Chitapankwa Chitimukulu who was visited by Livingstone. Chitapankwa had usurped the throne from his

elder brother, Bwembia, who was banished to live as a poor man in one of the new chief's garden villages (*mitanda*). As will be described later, the only time that a Shimwalule goes out of his area is to assist at the inheritance of a new Chitimukulu, and the seventh brother, Kachesa, went across to Lubemba to aid in the inheritance of the usurper, Chitapankwa. Although he was away only one day, the time seems to have been long enough for the eighth brother, Shiwaitobeka, to decide that it was his turn to be Shimwalule. Accordingly, Kachesa on his return was met at Mwalule by Shiwaitobeka's followers, who tied him up. Then one Mukungulima cut off his ears and his private parts, and so he died. He had not lived long enough to bury any Chitimukulu, but he is notable as having been the last of the Shimwalules to die by murder. Since his day either natural death, or accident, or removal from the post, has been the lot of the Chiefs. Shiwaitobeka, besides being the last of the murderers, was also the last, the eighth, of the ten brothers to hold the post. He lived to bury the deposed Chitimukulu Bwembia, and was then killed by a lion some time after. Chishiki, who succeeded him, was a nephew, and after living to bury Chitapankwa and Mwamba Chitundu, he too was killed by a lion.

We are now in modern times, for the young man Chimbwi, who followed Chishiki, is still alive today, and as the intrigues still went on and became more complicated since the redundant claimants were not killed, I will relate the next events in some detail.

Chitimukulu Sampa and Nkula Mutale both died on the same day, and were both due to be buried on the same day. Chimbwi was then Shimwalule, but a typical intrigue had been in progress, and before the funeral Mwamba Chisanga told Chimbwi that his (Chimbwi's) nephew, Nsofuyamutembo, was to become Shimwalule. Chimbwi fled to the Government station (which was then at Mirongo, with "Bobo" Young in charge), and laid a complaint, but Nsofuyamutembo went on with the funeral of Sampa and Mutale. Young set off to Mwalule with Chimbwi to conduct an inquiry. Nsofuyamutembo did

not wait for it, but fled to Makasa and left Chimbwi in possession of the chieftainship. Chimbwi stayed on to bury Mwamba Chisanga, the man who had chased him away and who never became Chitimukulu, and a Nkweto. Then complaints were laid against him to Young (now at the new station of Chinsali) that he indulged in the *mwafi* witchcraft test. This time it was Young who deprived him of his position and called back the fugitive, Nsofuyamutembo, to take up the post again. Nsofuyamutembo stayed on until Chitimukulu Makumba died and then, following the rule that he must bury only one Chitimukulu, he left the post and his younger brother Mutambalilo took his place.

Nsofuyamutembo died in Musanya's area, but Chimbwi, of whom it might be said that he held the post twice, is still alive.

When Chitimukulu Chikwanda died, Mutambalilo, in accordance with the rule, left his post, as he had buried Makumba. He, too, is still alive today. He was succeeded by his nephew Ngombewela, who buried Chitimukulu Chikwanda.

But when the last Chitimukulu, Ponde, died in 1924, Ngombewela did not leave his post. The explanation given now is that the elders were too frightened of the Boma to depose a Chief, although it was the custom. Whatever the reason, Ngombewela went down to the Chambeshi River and actually received the body of Ponde there. He was seen there by Mr. Rumsey of Mbesuma, apparently in good health. The funeral procession takes two and a half days from the Chambeshi to Mwalule, with night stops at Monga and Chembe. But on the very last day, when the procession was at Mfuko village, only four miles from Mwalule, Ngombewela died. So the old rule was kept. Mr. Otter, the Native Commissioner from Chinsali, was waiting at Mwalule and on hearing of the death he examined the body but apparently could find nothing wrong. The Natives said that Ngombewela had been a very sick man for some time and that he died a natural death. But the funeral was not held up, for by a happy coincidence, and probably much foresight, the successor, Katinya, the nephew of Ngombewela, had been living in Shimwalule's garden

village for some time. So he took over the procession and buried Ponde.

Now occurred another of the typical intrigues, for the new heir to the Paramountcy, Chitimukulu Kanyanta, declared that he would not have Katinya as Shimwalule. He dismissed him and put in his place Katinya's younger brother, Chandamali, who was then head messenger at Chinsali. Before Kanyanta inherited the Chitimukuluship, there were nine months of quarrelling between him and Nkula over the Shimwaluleship. Nkula was supported by the seventeen Bakabilo attached to Mwalule and finally they succeeded in putting back the true Shimwalule Katinya who aided in the inheritance of Chitimukulu Kanyanta and who still holds the post. Chandamali still lives at Chinsali, though I doubt if he could be called the third living Shimwalule since he never buried anyone and his title was always in dispute while he held it.

IV. THE WORK OF SHIMWALULE.

(i) *In general*

The Chief is very secretive about much of the actual work that he and the other guardians perform. The next sections describe the work connected with burials and with the land, and this present section indicates, obviously scappily, other duties that have been discovered through the veil of secrecy and reserve.

Shimwalule has seventeen Bakabilo to help him, although only two of these, Chilangishya and Chifumo, live at the Chief's village. Two others, Monga and Chembe, are the headmen of the stopping places on the funeral route of the Chitimukulu. At present four others are village headmen and the remainder live at various villages. The only presents they receive nowadays are occasional gifts of cloth from the royal Chiefs and certain gifts during the burial ceremonies. The Chief informed me that all the Bakabilo were gathered once a month at Mwalule. Some of their duties vary with the time of the year. They have to rethatch the relic hut and preserve it in good order. This is done by the Bakabilo themselves and no one else. They also thatch Shimwalule's own hut.

The officials are also gathered together once a year at harvest time for a ritual beer drink known as *mufuba*. Here at Shimwalule the time taken is about two days. On the first day the beer from the grain of Chitimukulu garden is drunk and on the second that from Mubanga garden. The beer is made by Nantalashya, the head wife of Shimwalule, helped by the wives of the Bakabilo.

Our knowledge of other ritual work, except that of a burial, is scanty. In the Chinsali District Notebook is a sentence by "Bobo" Young, the first Native Commissioner of the district, which states that the Shimwalule dreams, and that he learns from his dreams which Chief is asking for his bhang pipe and which Chief wants some food. Shimwalule grows bhang openly in his village for ritual purposes. Mutambalilo described to me briefly what the Shimwalule does at the inheritance of a new Chitimukulu. It is the only time that Shimwalule can go into the area of any of the four chiefs whom he has to bury, but even then he must not sleep in Lubemba. On the day appointed Shimwalule and his Bakabilo leave the Chambeshi from the Mwalule bank very early in the morning and arrive at Chitimukulu's village late in the afternoon. Just outside the village a large grass shelter has been built for them. When darkness has fallen, Chitimukulu and his Bakabilo come to the shelter. Then Shimwalule and Chimba (Chitimukulu's high priest) together make a fire by using firesticks. Meal and fowls are cooked and beer heated. The Shimwalule and all the Bakabilo, Chitimukulu's included, have a meal but Chitimukulu himself does not eat. When all have finished, Shimwalule and his people leave the capital and return home, no matter what the time is. They must not sleep or rest on the way but journey out of Lubemba in the darkness. That is all I have learned about this procedure and there is much more to be discovered of Shimwalule's part in this ceremony.

The work of Shimwalule is no doubt more regular through the year than is indicated by these few notes.

(ii) *The burial of a chief*

I was an eye witness, of as much of the ceremony as I was allowed to see, of the burial of

Chief Nkweto Mwaba in June 1941. The following is the actual description and in order to keep it complete, I begin with the ceremonies at Nkweto's village before the body is actually handed over to Shimwalule. A few notes at the end connect this particular burial with those of other chiefs.

The ceremonies of Nkweto began on the evening of Wednesday, June 4th, 1941. He had died in May, 1940. He had thus been preserved for a year. The time of the burying of a Chief is when the kaffir corn ripens at the beginning of June (*Chikungulupepo*). So the Nkweto had been preserved for the maximum time. After death the body had been placed in the Chief's own hut. It had been put on a mat on a wooden frame raised off the floor and in the ground was a long hole into which the juices(!) drip. The preservative is a soup made out of the cow pea. When dripping had stopped, the hide of a bull was put on top of the mat for the body to rest on. Some time during the period of preservation the finger and toe nails had been taken off. These were put in a small calabash and buried with the chief.

The men who look after the body and perform the funeral ceremonies are known as *bafingo* (singular, *chingo*). Nkweto had three. The head one is Chisongo and the other two are Kaunga and Wanyakwibwe. In addition there were two helpers present, Chiana and Simon. Both were sons of the dead Chief and had been "shown" to him at his death by the *bafingo*.

The hut containing the body was surrounded by a strong high fence which "kept away the lions and hyenas that came when the chief began to smell." The *bafingo* and their helpers and a woman Mwansa, the late Chief's granddaughter, lived constantly in near-by huts. On the verandah of the hut by the door was a pot of liquid medicine called *chifubawila*. Whenever the *bafingo* came out from the hut, they washed their hands and heads in this medicine: if they did not they would go blind.

When the kaffir corn had ripened, the *bafingo* had sent messengers to Chitimukulu and Nkula to ask if it was now time to begin the burial.

These messengers are *banungwe*, i.e. of the fish totem, and therefore in an intimate and opposite association with the royal Chiefs, who are of the crocodile totem. The date suggested by the *bafingo* was approved.

Once the ceremonies were well under way on the morning of Thursday, the new chief Nkweto left the area altogether until Friday afternoon, by which time the body had reached Shimwalule's area.

Now for the actual ceremonies. On Wednesday evening a bull arrived, given by Mayimba, uncle of the dead Chief. Then Chisongo opened the proceedings by shouting outside the fence, "Now my uncle, the bull has arrived and all your people are here. We will kill the bull tomorrow. You must clear the way to Mwalule." The drums beat, women shrilled and dancing began and was kept up all night.

Early on the Thursday morning the bull was tied by the *bafingo* and their helpers to the posts of the fence doorway. Chisongo produced fire sticks and made fire. When this was burning he called for water, saying, "Let me put out your fires for you may leave some burning." There were only three fires and he went round and put them out, lighting other fires immediately in exactly the same place from the new fire. Then the bull was hit at the back of the neck with an axe by Mwanchenda, grandson of the late Chief, and it died. If the bull is not killed at one blow, I was informed, the ceremonies would have been put off until another bull could be found. It was tied to the fence so that the blood could splatter the posts.

The bull was skinned by two grandsons of the Chief, with Chisongo's spear head. Then Chisongo cut a small piece of meat from the neck, spitted it on the spear head, roasted it and ate it. Another grandson Kaulungombe cut up the beast with the same spear head and an axe. The head was boiled in a pot belonging to the deceased chief and it went on boiling throughout the day and night, the *bafingo* and their helpers continually cutting off pieces with the spear and eating them. The skin of the bull was prepared by Chisongo and two helpers into the form of a stretcher in the

tall grass at the side of the Chief's hose. This was so that the people would not see it. The *bafingo* smeared their faces before they began work with white clay. When finished the skin was covered with mats again so that the people should not see it and carried inside the fence and left under the eaves of the house.

Dancing continued sporadically throughout the day and a modern innovation was a dumbbell display by the local school. Just after sunset a basket containing cloth, salt and meal provided by the new chief was brought to the fence. Chisongo spoke a few words: "You lion inside, clear the way for us tomorrow." All then greeted the dead Chief and Mwansa, a granddaughter of deceased, took away the basket to keep in her house. Dancing continued through the night by the light of the moon.

Early on Friday morning the *bafingo* and the helpers put on new clothes, entered the house, draped the corpse in new clothes and put it on the stretcher. About eight o'clock the men with sticks and branches began to dance round the fence singing the old war song "*Lisonga*," a song that accompanied the corpse whenever it was moving from now on. The *bafingo* brought out the corpse on its stretcher. Guns were fired, women began to weep and, accompanied by dancing men, the corpse was carried twice round the house and the cortege set off on the path to Mwalule. Three drums belonging to the late Chief accompanied the procession.

Rests were frequent on the way. The first one was at the old fort where Makasa had met his death while fighting the Angoni. The next was an old village site of Chitimukulu where the men shouted praises and clapped their hands. The third was at the side of the old village of Kalinda, elder brother of the deceased. The next stop was Chinungwe, a pool where there was a spirit hut made after the first Nkweto had stopped here. There was a quarrel here, the grandsons demanding from the *bafingo* that a cloth be put in the spirit house. Kaunga refused but the matter was settled by Simon snatching a piece and putting it in the shrine.

These rests are made in order to avoid the

impression that the chief is being chased out of his territory. In fact there is no indecent haste in any part of the ceremonies, everything being done leisurely. At each stop when the corpse was put down the men danced and sang around it. Later, Chisongo builds a shrine at each of the stops en route.

Between Kalinda and Chinungwe the boundary between Nkweto and Shimwalule is crossed. At Chinungwe the women turned back leaving only men to continue. The three drums also went back because if they had brought them on, Shimwalule's *Chingo*, called Chibingo, could have confiscated them.

Lubange, the night stop, was reached about three o'clock. This is an overgrown pool about twenty yards across, in the bush about four miles from Mwalule. Here the bush had been burnt by Chibingo and a grass fence erected with upright sticks placed to hold the stretcher. But Chibingo himself was not there. He should have been.

Chibingo, a village headman and a *Mukabilo* (councillor) as well as a *Chingo* of Shimwalule, receives the bodies of Nkula, Chewe and Nkweto as they reach Lubange, which is called "the gateway to Mwalule." Chibingo is called *Ntasa mu Lubange*,—the one who walks about Lubange. On the western side of Mwalule, Chembe keeps the gateway through which Chitimukulu and Mwamba enter. These two villages, when it is necessary to build new houses, only move a few yards, always keeping within a small area.

Chibingo himself finally arrived at about five o'clock. He said that the messenger sent by Nkweto's people had arrived very late at the grove and that Shimwalule had not had time to gather all his councillors together. This was a polite lie because the message had reached Mwalule early that morning. Among the people with me there were several suggestions as to why Chibingo was annoyed. Some suggested that the arrival of the body at Lubange had interrupted the annual *mufuba* beer drinking ceremony. Others thought that Shimwalule was just irritating the people of Nkweto because Shimwalule's area was badly cut out and his people were always drifting away

from him to Nkweto where there are still plenty of trees. A third suggestion was that Chibingo had not received a big enough present from Nkweto's people.

Chibingo and Shimwalule wanted to keep the body waiting at Lubange over the whole of the next day while Shimwalule got ready. I was annoyed at the delay and so were Nkweto's people who said that no Chief had ever been kept waiting in the bush. The result of our collective displeasure was that Chibingo left the camp hurriedly and I had no doubt that the morrow would see us moving again.

Later I talked with Chibingo and he gave me the following information about what should have happened at Lubange and because it did not happen both he and Shimwalule were annoyed.

In the first place he should have received early warning so that he could have met the cortege after it had left Chinungwe and he should have conducted it to Lubange. On meeting the procession he would have hung a string of white Mpande beads round the neck of Chuba who should have been carrying the front end of the stretcher. When Lubange was reached Chuba should have asked if his people could drink water. Chibingo would have agreed on payment of an axe or a hoe, or nowadays, a shilling. In the evening Chuba would have asked permission to cut firewood; Chibingo would have agreed after a present of a spear. Beads also should have been given to Chibingo in return for permission to take snuff. Chibingo should have made fire either with matches or firesticks and would have sold it to those who wanted fire in exchange for an arrow. In describing all these transactions Chibingo used the word *kushita*, to sell. No wonder he was angry. By the cortege getting there first a lot of his perquisites had been missed.

Whilst on this topic of Chibingo's perquisites, he said that if any of the *Bafingo* of Nkweto, Nkula or Chiti wished to go into the house where the dead chief was lying on the first night at Mwalule they too must pay a shilling or a piece of cloth.

To return to the description. On Saturday morning Chibingo came back. He was wearing a head-dress of crane feathers and round his

shoulder was the hereditary single iron bell *tupundu*. A follower brought a *munkanda* drum which was beaten as he arrived and during the procession. We set off, passing by Chibingo's village. Throughout the route from Nkweto, no villages are touched until Mwalule is reached.

The Mikunku stream was reached about a mile upstream from Shimwalule and here the first rest was made. This point, where the river is crossed, is known as Chilando. This is the origin of its name. Chilesbye Chitimukulu and Nkula Chewe quarrelled and would not meet each other. They said, "We will only meet at Mwalule." After both had been buried at Mwalule a terrific storm arose which the Shimwalule said was their two spirits fighting. He abjured them to get out of the grove and they went upstream. Here trees were torn up during their struggle and left lying across the stream. These trees were then used to cross by and the place was given the name Chilando (from *Mulando*—a log).

Men from Shimwalule lined the northern edge of the crossing to meet the cortege. Singing the *Isonga*, they dashed off ahead to the village returning at full speed down the path to meet the corpse again.

A rest was made close to the village where the corpse was met by Chilangishya, one of the resident *Bakabilo*. Shimwalule sent permission for the corpse to proceed and Chibingo led the procession. As it started off on the last stage the big *Kamangu* drum was beaten in the village. The procession did not go direct to the village but cut through the bush so as to arrive at the northern edge of the grove. Its progress on this stage was interesting for it did not go continually forward. Surrounded by a large yelling crowd, it dashed forward some yards then back a few yards, then forward and back again.

Meanwhile Shimwalule sat quietly on his mat, talking to his head wife, Nantalashya. The *Bakabilo* were now walking about, helping to beat the drum and occasionally speaking to the chief. In addition to Chibingo the following were wearing the ancient iron single bells slung round one shoulder with a thick rope—Chitefwe, Melele, Chembe, Chifumo and Kafwanda.

Kapata the leper, has a bell but he would not give it to his deputy, his younger brother, as he says he himself is still willing to work. Shimwalule himself has no bell though he wore the empty rope round his shoulder. Chembe, like his fellow keeper of the gate, Chibingo, also wore a head-dress of crane feathers.

Chibingo arrived to say that the corpse had reached the edge of the grove. Shimwalule and all the *Bakabilo* went off into the grove to reach the northern edge, only a few yards away from there. They soon reappeared, carrying the stretcher with Nkweto's *bafingo* behind. As it appeared men danced round the house of Chitimukulu, (the *babense* or relic hut). To the accompaniment of shouting and drumming the corpse was taken three times round the Chitimukulu hut, Shimwalule's head wife standing by, and then it was taken inside, Shimwalule entering first.

This relic hut, described later, now had two doorways. A second one facing the grove had been made in the wall especially for the entry of the corpse. This special doorway was shielded from the eyes of the people by the roof of a grain bin lying on its side. The people should not see the corpse go in but why the roof of a grain bin should be used as a fence I do not know.

After a few minutes the *bakabilo* who had taken in the corpse came out of the new door which was roughly closed. Shimwalule came out of the old door. I was told that inside he counted the toe and finger nails to make sure all ten were in the calabash. I was told that if any were missing a big quarrel would take place. So the ceremonies finished for the day. Dancing went on through the day and evening but not through the night. Shimwalule returned to his mat and spent the rest of the day sucking beer from a calabash. The *Bakabilo* and Nkweto's *bafingo* stayed continually outside the Chitimukulu hut. They brought fire along for they had to stay there all night.

On Sunday morning the *Bakabilo* entered by the new door. Melele and Kapata came out carrying the corpse and Chilangishya carrying the basket. This basket was now empty except for kaffir corn meal. The cake of salt, and clothes and blankets to the value of 30 shillings which

are now Shimwalule's property, were left in the house. Two other *Bakabilo* carried a new axe and a new hoe which Nkweto's *bafingo* had brought to dig the grave. These two articles also became Shimwalule's property. As the corpse was carried off by the *Bakabilo*, the people gave it one last shout and hand clap and a few beats of the drum. A few yards inside the grove the stretcher was put down and the *Bakabilo* did a dance of their own round it singing "*Mutale watemwa malaila watekansongwa tapemâ.*" Freely translated—"The chief with many warriors does not rest, he is always fighting." Shimwalule stood by. Then the cortege went on into the thick grove.

Two *Bakabilo* had been left behind, as well as all the *bafingo*, and they began to rebuild and plaster up the new door before Shimwalule returned. Two of Nkweto's people Kaunga and Kosam were told off to help.

I was not allowed to go inside the grove so what little information I have about the actual burying was told to me by the *bakabilo* and they would not say much. The body is buried with others of the same chieftainship, i.e. all the Nkwetos are close together and all the Chitimukulus together and so on. The actual spot is chosen by Shimwalule and the *Bakabilo* when inside the grove. The grave is dug by the *Bakabilo*. The bangle on the chief's wrist is taken off and the top cloth is also brought back with the bangle. The cloth Shimwalule usually gives to one of his sons or keeps it himself. When the grave is filled in, Shimwalule scatters over it the kaffir corn flour. This must be an important part of the ceremonial as the whole object of preserving the body is to wait for the ripening of the kaffir corn.

The party returned after a lapse of three hours. They stopped at the Chitimukulu house and Chilangishya put inside the basket, and its contents, and the hoe and the axe. The procession then passed through the village and on to a special site called Chowa on the river where they took off all their clothes and washed in the water.

On the return Chilangishya produced fire sticks and made fire outside the *Babenye* hut.

Then Shimwalule produced from the hut a clasp knife with which to kill two fowls brought by Nkweto's *bafingo*. This knife had been bought in Tanganyika by the present Shimwalule's son. It was first used at the burying of Chitimukulu Ponde. Before that time an old native-made knife had been used but it was getting so small that Shimwalule put it away in the relic house. Chilangishya took the cockerel and Shimwalule and all the *Bakabilo* standing in a ring touched it. Then he severed its head. The hen was dealt with in same way, being touched before being killed. Shimwalule returned the knife to the hut. The guts, feathers and bones were put on a heap of rubbish at the side of the hut. There are two heaps, one for rubbish and one for ashes from the ritual fires. These heaps are never moved and both are now several feet high and two or three yards across. The wood for all ritual fires must all be gathered within the grove itself.

After the fowls had been roasted on sticks Shimwalule tore off a piece and ate with his fingers. The *Bakabilo* then followed. The *bafingo* took no part in this eating. After eating the party split up, the fire being put out by Chilangishya and the ashes put on the heap.

That evening, the fifth day of the ceremonies and the day of the actual burial, Shimwalule and Nantalashya slept in the Chitimukulu hut and performed sexual intercourse together. A fire was lit by Chilangishya in the hut at sunset and by the fire was put the basket, the clothes and the axe and the hoe. This fire was not put out but was allowed to die out by itself.

The next morning, the sixth day, the final ceremonies are performed and they concern the official who had inherited by proxy the late Nkweto until the proper heir was installed. His job is "*kunwa menshi ya shamfumu*;" literally, "to drink the water of the chief," a phrase which refers to a ritual anointing with oil. Headman Sula, a grandson of Nkweto, was the man concerned here. Sula had never left his own village to do any of the work of a chief, and although the new chief had been exercising judicial functions since the death, Sula was called Nkweto until the new man actually inherited.

Sula had preceded the corpse but did not go to the village for any of the ceremonies but spent his days in a little grass hut specially built for him at the north edge of the grove. In the evening he came in to sleep at Chimbala's house and went away again at dawn.

At 7.30 on this morning all the *bakabilo* and the *bafingo* gathered outside the *babanye* hut. Sula and four followers were called, one of whom Tondwe, was wearing a single bell. They formed a circle and Sula sat on a mat in the centre. In the hut a tiny calabash of castor oil, made by Nantalashya, had been kept all night. Shimwalule brought out this castor oil, a plate of flour and water, the bangle of deceased, a spearhead and a string of white store beads. He then rubbed Sula's chest and back with the oil and then put on the water and flour, the flour sticking to the oil. The bangle was rubbed with oil and put on Sula's left wrist and the beads hung round his neck. Then, still holding the spear-head, Shimwalule made a speech the gist of which was: "I am respected by the people of Chitimukulu, Mwamba and Nkula but not by you people of Nkweto. You do not visit me and talk with me about the affairs of the country as do the sons of the other chiefs. You despise me and this is wrong." He then went on to relate some of his history to prove that it was right that he should be honoured. After this homily he gave the spear head to Sula. Sula got up and climbed on to the back of one of his followers to be carried away through the village to the accompaniment of shouting. He was carried through Chibingo's village and on as far as Shimwalule's border. There he was put down and allowed to walk.

The immediate ceremonies were over. The *bafingo* left almost immediately for Nkweto's area. Shimwalule brought out the clothes that were still in the hut and divided them out among the *Bakabilo* who then went home.

That was all I saw of the ceremonies but the following month further ceremonies took place. These were the killing of a bull and a sheep to complete the burial.

I was unable to attend so sent an African Clerk

Joseph Chituta who gave the following description of the three day ceremonies.

On Friday morning 4th July Nkweto's *bafingo* came to Kalinda's village where was a bull bought by Mitimangi, stepson of the old Nkweto. The *bafingo* gathered at the door of the kraal and Chisongo addressed the bull, telling it to die before reaching Mwalule if the ceremonies had been performed wrongly. *Bafingo* alone were concerned and they set off with the bull and a ram sheep supplied by the new Nkweto who also supplied 6 yards of white cloth and 2 lbs salt. The route followed was the same as that taken by the corpse as far as Lubange pool. Here the bull and the sheep were tied to a tree for some minutes. This was done in order to let the spirits of the dead chiefs have a glance at the beasts. From Lubange the procession went on to Chibingo's village.

The *bafingo* slept at Chibingo and the next day the procession went on to Mwalule, leaving the sheep at Chibingo. The bull was taken straight to Chilangisha's hut, and the *bakabilo* were called. These sat round Shimwalule who said: "When the bull arrived here at the death of Chitimukulu Ponde it was bitten by a puff-adder in Mwalule here. We divined and found that the spirits of the dead chiefs were angry because we did not rub the beast on its face with white kafir corn flour nor honour it."

The rest of Nkweto's *bafingo* then arrived. They all saluted Chief Shimwalule by beating arrows on their bows, and there were some cryptic exchanges of greetings.

Kosam then tied the bull to the poles of the grain bin opposite to Chitimukulu's hut. Shimwalule and his head wife, Nantalashya stood nearby whilst Chilangishya rubbed the bull on its face with kafir corn flour.

At about 5.30 in the afternoon all the *Bakabilo* gathered together again. Nkweto's *bafingo* helped Chifumo to drag the bull to the door of Chitimukulu's hut where it was tied. On instructions from Shimwalule Chembe took the axe from his shoulder and gave one blow on the bull's neck but this was not sufficient to kill it and Shimwalule told him to hit it again. This time

it was killed. As soon as the bull fell Chilangishya caught a pot of blood from the wound and placed the pot at the side of the relic hut. The whole of this ceremony was performed in silence. The dead bull was left all night inside the fence surrounding Chitimukulu's hut. Chilangishya said that if the spirits of the dead chiefs were not pleased with this bull, it would be eaten by the hyenas.

On Sunday morning the bull was skinned and cut into large pieces near the door of the relic hut by Chilangishya and Mfuko. The door was left ajar whilst this was being done in order that the spirits of the chiefs inside could see the meat.

Eleven long thin slices were cut. Then Chilangishya cleared a place on which to make a fire and Mfuko was sent for sticks into the grove. Then all *bakabilo* were called. They sat in a circle, and Shimwalule began to twist fire sticks and all the *bakabilo* in turn gave them a few twists. Chilangishya the last, lit the fire and put the pieces of meat on to a drying rack.

Then followed some complicated ritual eating of the meat and porridge after which Shimwalule took the basket and cloth from the relic hut. He tore some of the cloth, wrapped it round the basket and gave the bundle to Kosam to return to Nkweto. (The basket will be kept in Nkweto's relic hut). The rest of the cloth was kept by Shimwalule. The cloth, salt and beast had been sent with a message from Nkweto asking permission for Chisongo and Kaunga to enter into the relic hut. It is part of the ceremony for *Bakabilo* to enter the hut.

Addressing Chisongo and Nkweto's *bafingo* Shimwalule said "Chisongo, Nkweto asked me to let you enter in the *Babenye* hut. I cannot allow you to go inside now, because we have recently repaired the roof. First I want Chitimukulu's and Nkula's *Bakabilo* to enter then I shall allow you too. I shall ask Chitimukulu and Nkula about this, but I know they will not refuse. My *Bakabilo* and I shall allow you to enter later." He continued, "Nkole and Chiti came from Kola. They found me here; they did not give me this country. This country is ours from the beginning. You, Nkweto's sons, despise me.

You say I am not a Chief but only an undertaker. I am not pleased at having to bury friends; I do not want my friends to die so that I may bury them. You, Nkweto's people, are deceiving your Chief. Don't you know that Chitimukulu's, Mwamba's and Nkula's countries are my countries as well as Chilinda area. Why is it called Chilinda? It is because, it protects the royal burial grove. When anyone wants to go and live in Nkweto's or Nkula's area I allow him to go for I know he is still my man. Chitimukulu, Nkula and Mwamba always send me big presents, because they know that I am their father. They have nobody else to whom they can give presents (*kutula*) except me. If I am doing my work wrong here as Shimwalule the spirits of the dead chiefs will be angry with me and punish me." He went on, saying that he was very important and should be continuously honoured. The speech is important as it probably does convey what all Shimwalules think about their position.

After the speech the chief took the pot of blood and splashed the pillars of Chitimukulu hut and rubbed it on the door which Shimwalule used. He also spattered blood on the wall exactly on the point at which the corpse entered, and some was taken inside. The Bakabilo would not say what they did with the blood taken inside. Some of it was to be taken to the graves and smeared on top of every mound by Shimwalule himself. After this Shimwalule took one hind leg of the meat for himself. The rest was distributed among the bakabilo.

The rest of the ceremonies took place at Chibingo and Lubange.

On Monday morning 7th July Chibingo, wearing head-dress and iron bell, gathered his kinsmen to go to Lubange with the sheep. There the grass fence erected to shield the corpse was taken away and a spirit hut (*Lufuba*) about two feet high was made with the posts and grass. Then Chibingo's wife touched the sheep and Chibingo took a knife and killed it, catching some blood on a small plate. He poured some blood inside the spirit hut then he and his wife each took a handful of blood from the plate and rubbed the

poles of the hut. The remaining blood Chibingo poured and rubbed on other spirit huts close by.

Finally a fire was lit with matches. The sheep was cooked and eaten with porridge and then everyone went home. At the village they were greeted by crowds of singing people.

Thus the ceremonies that we were allowed to see concerning the burial of Nkweto took nine days to perform. But throughout the descriptions there are hints of other rituals and acts that have been or are to be done connected with them. They suggest that the interest and duties of Shimwalule, even in one particular burial, are spread over many more days than nine and to get full descriptions of such long-drawn out ceremonies would take much time. I have little doubt that the more we learn about the functions of this priest the more one can believe him when he says that Government work interferes with his religious duties.

NOTES

1. In earlier days it was the custom to kill slaves and certain other people during the funeral ceremonies of the more important chiefs. The *Bakabilo* informed me that when the bodies of Chitimukulu, Mwamba and Nkula left their huts the village captao, *mushika*, was killed on the threshold and the bearers of the corpse stepped over him as they came out. The method of all these killings was that one of the *bafingo* struck the person on the bridge of the nose with a heavy stick. Only one blow was struck and if the person did not die he was allowed to live—*mfumu yamuluka*, the chief has forgiven him. In the 1930's there was one such person still alive in the Kasama district. At the first stop the youth who held the chief's pipe was killed. It is said that other slaves were killed at other stops during the burial of the three chiefs mentioned. The head wife was killed at Mwalule and the chief buried with his head resting on her. This killing also apparently only applied to the three chiefs, not to Nkweto or Chewe. The *Bakabilo* said that no killings had taken place since the funeral of Sampa Chitimukulu.

2. When the chief dies, if there is any food left

in his garden or bins, it becomes the property of the *bafingo* who eat it while they are at the lengthy work of embalming.

3. I was informed that in connection with the burial of a Chitimukulu there are several sham fights. One at Mwalule between Chitikafula, head *finjo*, and his followers and the people of Shimwalule. And I could only get vague information about a second one actually at Chitimukulu's village between Mwangata, another *finjo* and followers, and Chitikafula and followers. This latter fight is said to be connected with the finger and toe nails, and if any were missing the sham fight was said to become a real one.

V. PECULIARITIES OF LAND TENURE

(1) *The village*

Since the village always remains in the same place the trees in the immediate surrounding area have naturally been cut down through the period of years. The Bemba system of agriculture is dependant upon the fertilizing effect of the ash of burnt branches of tree. Shimwalule solves the difficulty of land of trees by building a garden village (*Mutanda*), but not such a temporary grass and pole structure as the ordinary garden village is. It is a normal, proper village with ten or twelve permanent huts about two miles from the grove. Here Shimwalule goes for some periods. The present garden village is four years old.

The main village at the grove comprised (in 1939) 51 huts. The peculiar features about it are that there are no kitchens, and that as each hut gets old and is destroyed the new one must be built practically on the foundation of the old one. The thatch and poles are taken away and burned but the mud daga of the walls is kept to build up the raised veranda. In the past the village was bigger. Now there is a large gap of about 30 yards between the village and the house of Chifumo whose hut was once well within the village. He is a resident Mukabilo and the rule of building on the same site is applied rigidly to him as it is to Chilangishya and Shimwalule. So through the gradual reduction in size of the village this large gap has developed between the village and Chifumo.

Although grain bins may be built in the village, kitchens may not be. The only reason given is that there were none in the past and the village must retain its past plan. The huts are very close together, three paces being the average distance.

The *babanye* or relic hut on the grove edge of the village is never pulled down but merely rethatched and replastered. Legend has it that it was originally built by Lucheke Ng'anga (Dr. Lacerda?) and that it has been preserved ever since. It is only the usual size but has very low walls and the roof comes down to within a foot or two of the ground. For some ceremonies it is hidden by a high grass fence. The relic hut and Shimwalule's hut have names. The former is called Chitimukulu (the title of the tribal Paramount) and the latter is called Kabotwe (after the first Shimwalule).

(ii) *Garden Ritual*

Two gardens are made every year for the Shimwalule. The largest garden, about 70 yards in diameter is known as Chitimukulu; the second, roughly 40 yards in diameter is known as Mubanga.

The sites are usually chosen by Shimwalule himself. The night before the cutting commences Shimwalule and the *Bakabilo* perform a ceremony (*kupala*) in the *Babenye* hut.

Shimwalule cuts the first tree down, then all *Bakabilo*, in turn take the same axe and cut one tree each. Then the people carry on. This procedure is at Chitimukulu garden only; Mubanga is cut by the people alone; Shimwalule and the *Bakabilo* are not present. When the Chief and *Bakabilo* have cut their trees they return to the village to eat meal, meat and fish.

On the day before the burning takes place there is a ritual hunt in which Shimwalule takes part in the nearby swamps of the Mikunku stream. The quarry of the hunt is the *sitatunga* and the object is to kill first a male and then a female. It is an omen of good crops if that is the order of the first two animals killed, but if this does not occur the hunt is continued until a female is killed immediately following a male. Shimwa-

lule keeps for himself the male of the desired pair; any others killed out of order or accidentally are eaten by other hunters. The phrase used to describe this hunt is "*kusowa chisapa*," a phrase which I have never heard before and which is, as far as I know, only used in connection with this particular hunt.

On the next morning at the Chitimukulu garden fire is made with fire sticks by two *Bakabilo*, both holding the stick together. When the fire is alight Shimwalule puts the first flame to the branches of garden. The *Bakabilo* continue the fire with grass torches. There is no ritual in connection with the firing of the Mubanga garden.

At sowing time seed grain is gathered from various people without any particular choice and is taken by the *Bakabilo* into the *Babenye* hut where it stays for one night.

To begin the sowing Shimwalule casts the first handful of seed on the Chitimukulu garden and then the *Bakabilo* each throw one handful. When Chitimukulu is finished Chilangishya beats the drum a few times. The Mubanga garden is sown by the people without ceremony or drum beating.

At reaping time there is no ceremony and the *Bakabilo* are not gathered together. The Chief goes to Chitimukulu garden with women gathered together from various parts of his area. Shimwalule watches for a short time and then goes away.

The grain from the gardens is kept in separate bins. Nantalashya the senior wife of Shimwalule is in charge of these. There seem to be no restrictions of the time, place and person who eats this food.

The two gardens described above are eleusine (male) gardens, but there is another garden for kafir corn (*masaka*). This is sown in mounds and the area of garden is known as Kabotwe, which was the name of the first Shimwalule. The ceremonies for the making, sowing and reaping of the *masaka* garden are similar to those of the male garden except that at each of the *masaka* ceremonies beer is drunk by Shimwalule and the *Bakabilo*.

All the beer drunk by Shimwalule and the

Bakabilo at the most important ceremonies is made from the grain of the Kabotwe garden which is kept separately.

VI. ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

It is difficult to see how Shimwalule can retain his present status and still fit into a modern system of indirect rule. Such a system does not, of course, preclude the recognition of religious and spiritual functionaries, but the case of Shimwalule is complicated by the fact that at the moment he comes under the Native Authorities and Native Courts Ordinances and has a Court and a definite administrative district assigned to him. And the tribal functions of priest and undertaker are not always compatible with the political functions now required of chiefs.

Shimwalule has more than once complained that his duties as Native Authority and holder of a Native Court under present Government Authority interfere with his work as priest at Mwalule, a complaint implying that his religious duties are more absorbing in time than he openly reveals. From what little I have seen of a few long-drawn out ceremonies I believe this to be so. As local government develops there is no doubt that more and more calls will be made upon the time and abilities of all chiefs and it is difficult to see how a full-time priest can become a good modern chief.

There are other restrictions upon the development of this chieftainship. The most noticeable is that old rule which forbids Shimwalule to move out of the area covered by the term Mwalule. He cannot enter Nkula's area to visit the Boma at Chinsali nor can he enter Chitimukulu's area. This precludes him from taking part in any of the meetings of chiefs that are becoming an important feature of Native Treasury development. His place at all councils is taken by Katyetye a Mwinachilye (assessor). The area Mwalule includes the two small chieftainship areas adjoining, of Nkweto and Musanya, and also the larger one of Mubanga, all of which Shimwalule may visit. But these are not important areas from the viewpoint now under discussion and the traditional rule which renders impossible the journeys to

meetings of officials, Governors, Provincial and District Commissioners, at Government Stations and to meetings of the tribal Treasury at the Paramount's or Nkula's villages is a handicap that will be more inconvenient as the tribal structure develops.

Another anomaly, at least compared with the rest of the chieftainship is that the Shimwalule is not a chief for life. His stay as a chief may be long or it may be very short, depending upon whether the Chitimukulus die quickly or not. A long-lived Chitimukulu followed by a brother almost as old (a present contingency) might mean that a Shimwalule would only hold office for a year or two and then would be banished in favour of a new one. As a chief then, he suffers because he has not had the training of a chief, nor has he passed through junior chieftainships or headmanships as a young man, as have his fellowchiefs. Neither has he the incentive to consolidate his position with tribe or Government by a vigorous or progressive tenure of office. He is merely a temporary holder of spiritual office with little or no political or social spurs to ambition and work.

My assertion that Shimwalule's importance in the tribe is religious, dependent upon his position as priest and undertaker, and not political, is borne out by the fact that when he leaves the post he becomes an ordinary man again. By that I mean that he no longer receives the respect and titles of honour that he has received as Shimwalule. He leaves the area and does not even become a village headman. Nothing could prove more conclusively that Shimwalule is not a "chief" in the accepted sense of the word but that his importance is solely dependent upon his priestly functions. For no tribe could be more keen than the Babemba on the retention of traditional honours where they are due, and their slogan of "once a chief, always a chief" would be applied to a Shimwalule in retirement if ever he had been a chief.

The above mentioned anomalies must be remembered now I come to mention Shimwalule's present financial position and the suggestions for a change of status. The payment of chiefs' salaries is based roughly on the population of the

area administered, but, in addition, the imponderable of traditional tribal position is taken into account, for the status of a chief does not always depend upon the number of his people.

There are 34 Bemba chiefs. As regards largeness of population Shimwalule is the twenty-first on the list. But in the list of suggested salaries from the Paramount, Chitimukulu ranked him number six on the list, immediately following Chief Mporokoso, and proposed to give him a salary of £48 per annum. The traditional idea still holds that Shimwalule is the man to whom royal chiefs should send as much wealth as possible. Such a position was obviously quite out of proportion with his modern duties and the administration only approved a salary of £8 per year making him twenty-second on the list and making his pay more in accord with the size of his area and population.

But this arbitrary lowering of Shimwalule's status does not solve the problem of his future, because the Paramount and the Administration will never agree about his status, the former wanting it to be high and the latter viewing religious functions with a tolerant but practical eye. The Administration is very willing to agree that the position of keeper of the Royal Burial Grove is an integral one in the Bemba tribal structure and has no wish to abolish the post or to render it without honour or financial remuneration. But the facts remain that so long as Shimwalule is a chief his district and his court are administered in an unenthusiastic and careless fashion because of the claims of religious work and because of the customary restrictions mentioned above. (This assessment is not mine only but is supported by most District Commissioners who have administered the district).

The suggestion has therefore been made that the post should be split into its two parts and the post of the keeper of the Grove should be quite distinct from the post of Chief. That the priest should receive payment from the Treasury for his religious functions and that the business of administering the area and dispensing justice be taken over either by a new chief or by an adjoining chief.

The Paramount is naturally against any change being made and so long as he is adamant I doubt if the change, desirable as it is, will be made. The change might be made in the future by a more progressive Paramount, or if the administration of Shimwalule's area becomes too bad, by the Government itself. This latter event might be avoided by the appointment of some strong, intelligent councillors. They would have to be commoners because all the present councillors are also tied up with the religious functions of the chief. It is interesting and pertinent to speculate who should take over the area. Government policy is against the creation of any more new chieftainships so the area would be taken over by an adjoining chief. Of these, Chitumukulu himself would not because the Chambeshi River is something of a religious barrier as well as a geographical one. Mubanga, an important son of the Paramount, could not take it because sons, Nkula tells me, can only rule over the areas definitely and traditionally allotted to sons. That leaves Nkula and Nkweto. Both are chiefs who are buried at the grove but there would be no customary hindrance to their administering and journeying through Mwalule so long as they did not visit the actual grove, which would remain the home of the priest. Nkula has already a large area which has been swollen by the abolition of two other chieftainly areas and I myself would

prefer Mwalule to be taken over by Nkweto who has a smaller area to look after.

But the development has not yet come and any proposals to hasten it are met with all the conservatism that tribal tradition and religious belief can rally. The problem of change and development in tribal structure is one that in the future will be continually facing Indirect Rule if that system is to live and this study gives an example of a type of problem—that of the place and function of a Priest-Chief in an old system faced with modern social and political problems. Changes must often be made from above, and in hastening them Government is justified by Lord Hailey's dictum that "the maintenance of customary Native authority is not an end in itself; its justification lies in the extent to which it can be utilised as an instrument for promoting the general welfare. All experience goes to show that the best guarantee for the maintenance of traditional institutions in modern condition lies in integrating them with the government institutions necessary to secure good administration." So it would seem that the Shimwaluleship must change. As priest and undertaker he cannot be integrated in the present system, so he should relinquish his administration functions to another and himself retain undimmed his ancient religious prestige.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Professor B. Malinowski.

A report recently received from America announced the death at New Haven of Bronislaw Malinowski, Professor of Anthropology in the University of London. Professor Malinowski was one of the outstanding social anthropologists of the present century and perhaps of all time. Born in 1884, he studied at London under Professors Westermarck and Seligman, and subsequently (1914-18) carried out field-work in New Guinea and northwestern Melanesia. The many books and articles in which he recorded and interpreted his observations not only brought him world-wide recognition, but have also exercised a profound influence upon the development of social anthropology as a science. They contributed markedly towards the rapid improvement of fieldwork techniques and to the widespread adoption of what has come to be known as the "functional method" of explaining the facts of culture.

African ethnography, in particular, owes much to Professor Malinowski. His first-hand knowledge of the continent was confined to a brief visit made to South Africa in 1934 under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship. But, through his long association with the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, he was largely responsible for guiding the trend of field investigations in this country and farther north during the past thirteen years, and many of the anthropologists who are now, or were lately, working in Africa studied directly under him at London. A highly gifted and stimulating teacher, he instilled into his students much of his own enthusiasm, clarity of thought, and regard for scientific method, and the high standard of so many recent monographs on African peoples is a lasting tribute to his powers of inspiration.

Professor Malinowski's interest in African studies proceeded largely from his belief that anthropology had to be given a more practical direction if its existence as a science was to be justified. In stressing the importance of anthropological knowledge for the administration of

backward peoples, he did much to give his subject a significance and standing that it had not formerly possessed. Coupled with this approach went the keen interest which he developed in later years in the problems of a changing culture under the impact of Western civilization. He himself had little occasion to do research work in this field, but his contribution to the theory of acculturation may be regarded in time to come as being one of his most important achievements in the development of anthropology.

* * *

Dr. W. G. Bennie

Xhosa studies have suffered a severe loss in the death at Alice on July 28th, 1942, of Dr. W. G. Bennie, at the age of 73. Born at Lovedale, he was the grandson of one of the first Scottish missionaries to come to South Africa, and, like his forebears, who first reduced the Xhosa language to writing, he took an active interest in Xhosa language and literature.

Educated at the old University of the Cape of Good Hope, Dr. Bennie, after teaching at Lovedale for a short time, was appointed inspector of schools under the Cape Education Department. He was the first chief inspector of Native schools in the Cape Province, a position he held from 1920 to 1929. After his retirement he became a lecturer in Native languages at the Cape Town University.

Dr. Bennie gave a great deal of his time to the advancement and encouragement of Xhosa literature and published a number of books in Xhosa including the set of Stewart Xhosa readers which he edited, a remarkably fine series of graded readers culminating in the remarkable anthology *Imibengo*, which is a collection of gems from Xhosa literature to that date. His enthusiasm was largely responsible for the satisfactory settlement of Xhosa orthography. He edited in the new orthography McLaren's Xhosa-English Dictionary and produced a useful grammar entitled *A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa-Speaking*. But perhaps Dr. Bennie's work that will be best

remembered is that which he has done in preparing the Bible in the new orthography. Of this the New Testament has already appeared in print. Cape Town University recently conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws in recognition of the signal services he has rendered in this field of studies.

* * * *

Discovery of Moffat Papers.

The recently discovered Moffat papers have now been deposited in the Government Archives in Salisbury. The contents of the papers are outlined by Professor J. P. R. Wallis in an article in the *Rhodesia Herald*. It is remarkable, he says, that this rich mass of documents, carefully preserved and added to by John Smith Moffat, should have been lost to knowledge as completely as they were. The missionary's grandson, Dr. R. U. Moffat, devoted himself to their recovery, and the Government Archivist, Mr. V. W. Hiller, joined in the search when he was in England in 1937. At one time it was thought that they might be housed in a quaint Kentish mansion, Knockholt House, exposed when war came to the vandalism of air raids. Luckily Dr. Moffat, returning to South Africa when war drove him from his home in the south of France, found them unexpectedly stowed away in the harness room at Quagga's Kerk in the Tarkastad district, the home of his brother, Mr. Livingstone Moffat. They were contained in a stout iron-bound chest, the same that Robert had had made for him by an Edinburgh "cabinet-maker, upholsterer and undertaker," a combination of trades that witnesses to its age. On the lid is a brass plate bearing its owner's name.

What riches lurked within! Letters written in the well-formed characterful hand of Robert's father to his son and namesake, and the boy's to his parents, in an open but less formed script; others too, from his elder brother Alexander, who slipped from grace, and, enlisting in the Honourable East India Company's Artillery, saw service in India and the East Indies. There is a goodly sheaf of his diaries and diary-letters to his brother Robert, couched in so minute a penmanship that they require a magnifying glass to be

read with ease. These throw their own light on the family, but their interest is overshadowed by the missionary's writings.

First come eight journals covering the years of struggle in South Africa, from 1816 to 1836. They tell of that striking episode, his conversion of the Hottentot outlaw Afrikaner, whom at last he led in triumph to Cape Town, to win him pardon and viceregal protection. Here too is an account of the clash with the Mantati, themselves fleeing before Mzilikazi's hordes; of the hardships, heroically borne by husband and wife, in the Kuruman station, and of his two months sojourn among the Baralong, to acquire the knowledge of Sechuana that enabled him to astound his Native congregations with his fluent and idiomatic mastery of that language in sermons and to render the scriptures into it for the use of his converts.

These are priceless, but even more precious are the volumes that describe, as he made them, his five journeys to Mzilikazi, whom he subdued by the force of his spirit as he had subdued Afrikaner, and from whom he won acknowledgment, before all the indunas and warriors, as "his son." Here surely are the earliest written records of the Matabele.

All these overshadow but do not diminish the interest of many miscellaneous manuscripts—articles, addresses, lectures and language notes.

Finally, but still precious, comes the John Smith Moffat collection, rich in memorials of Matabeleland, opening in 1847 with letters from his parents to their "dear boy, Johnny" at school, at the Cape. But what captures the imagination are letters, in his big sprawling fist, written by David Livingstone during his ill-fated Zambesi expedition. In one of them the implacable explorer bears with heavy injustice on his White subordinates, Baines, Thornton and Bedingfeld, but, significantly, he asks that these comments be kept from "the eddies of missionary gossip." There are letters written by John Smith Moffat from Lobengula's kraal, six volumes of them, incalculably precious to the student of Matabeleland history; also the transcripts of letters written from Inyati by John and his wife Emily from

1859 to 1864, carefully made and cherished by Emily's father, the Brighton tea-merchant, J. S. Unwin.

These wonderful documents, now through the pertinacity of Dr. R. U. Moffat brought once more to light, and by the generosity of Mr. Livingstone Moffat handed over to the Colony to be preserved for all time, are in their range and fulness a storehouse of first-rate and first-hand historical material, besides setting out a direct and vivid story of indomitable will and courage.

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Communications from the School of African Studies (New Series).

Under the above title, the School of African Studies at the University of Cape Town has recently begun issuing, in mimeographed form, a series of papers on African ethnography, archaeology, and linguistics. The aim of the series is to provide a medium of publication for material of a more specialised nature than is usually suitable for the standard scientific journals. Copies are sent gratis or in exchange to Universities and other bodies interested in African studies, and a limited number are also available for purchase. The following four papers have so far been issued, and others are in active preparation:

1. A Preliminary Survey of the Bored Stones of Southern Africa: Part I, Bantu Specimens. By A. J. H. Goodwin. (Material collected towards a Corpus of the Bored Stones of Southern Africa.) 22 pages, map. Price 2s.
2. Notes on the Noun-Classes of some Bantu Languages of Ngamiland (Yeei, Subia, Gova, and Gcerekku). By I. Schapera and D. F. van der Merwe. 103 pages. Price 7s. 6d.
3. A Short History of the BaKgatla-baga-Kgafela of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. By I. Schapera. 54 pages, map. Price 5s.
4. Notes on Archaeological Method, with special reference to South African Conditions. By A. J. H. Goodwin. 28 pages. Price 3s.

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Vernacular Essay Competition

The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures has once more decided to hold

a Prize Essay Competition. Its object in doing so is to encourage the creation of an African vernacular literature, a need recognized by the educational authorities working in the various administrations, and by missionary societies.

The conditions of the competition are as follows:

- (a) Essays should be limited to 3,000-8,000 words.
- (b) Manuscripts should be neatly written or typed on one side of the paper only and the title of the essay and the name and address of the writer should be on a separate page. The essay should be of such a length that if typed it would consist of 300-500 lines.
- (c) Where possible the Institute will take steps to arrange for publication of the best essays, which will remain the Institute's copyright. Fifty copies of the printed essay will be sent to the successful author free of charge. Royalties cannot be expected on a small first edition. But if the first edition is sold out and there is a demand for a second edition, arrangements will be made by which the author shall receive the customary royalties.

(d) In addition an honorarium of two guineas will be awarded in recognition of the work of the successful author.

(e) The languages chosen for the year 1942-1943 are as follows:—Amharic, Zande, Ruanda or Rundi, Nyanja, Pedi, Kongo, Fulani (including such variants as Tukulor), Yoruba, Twi or Fante, Mende.

(f) Essays should be addressed to:—The Secretary, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, Seymour House, 17, Waterloo Place, London, S.W.1., England. They should be posted not later than the 1st of April, 1943.

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Donation

The trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Northern Rhodesia have granted a sum of £25 towards the cost of publishing this journal. We gratefully acknowledge the receipt of this donation which marks a co-operative spirit that everyone will appreciate.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Native Labour in South Africa. By SHEILA T. VAN DER HORST. Oxford University Press. Cape Town: *Juta*. 1942. 340pp. 23s.

The literature on Native labour is not considerable and it is scattered in scores of places. This substantial contribution to it is therefore most welcome. Dr. van der Horst has been at work on the subject for some years and she has obviously taken great pains to assemble all the available material. Her industry makes this the standard work, for which other students will be grateful for a long time to come.

Her treatment is mainly historical, and it covers the problem from the end of the eighteenth century almost to the present day. 'The first part deals with economic contact between Europeans and Natives before 1870; the second part with the impact of the diamond and gold discoveries on the market for Native labour until the turn of the century; and the third part with "the problem of the twentieth century, competition between European and Native."' Throughout Dr. van der Horst draws on the widest range of printed materials which she always handles with care if not with imagination.

Yet the book is curiously disappointing, coming as it does at the very time when we are witnessing significant changes in this field and are likely to witness even greater changes in the future. Perhaps the weakness of the work lies in the fact that Dr. van der Horst's angle of approach to the problem is that of an orthodox economist and that she has striven to maintain this approach even when tempted beyond its limits. That she has been so tempted is of course to her credit. In these days nearly everyone recognizes that the social sciences cannot be rigidly insulated from one another, and indeed that their areas of contact are the very places in which the most fruitful work can be done. Now the problems of Native labour cannot be fully discussed unless one is aware that social factors, such as the nature of accommodation provided for workers, must

also be considered; nor can political factors, such as trade unionism, be ignored.

Seeing these relations, Dr. van der Horst ventures into these neighbouring fields, but she takes these steps so hesitantly that one is inclined to say that it would have been better not to have taken them at all. She points out, for instance, that the compound system is a corollary of migrant labour (p. 189), which is itself the foundation of industry in the Union. But she devotes only five meagre pages to a discussion of the compound system and how it is related to the possibility of stabilising labour. As always, she gives us neat summaries of other people's opinions but, having weighed them up, she leaves the reader in the air without declaring her own view, unless one can detect it in an *obiter dictum* or a rhetorical question.

The great strike on the Rand in 1922 illustrates a similar attitude. That event was the violent culmination of a struggle that had proceeded in one way or another for a generation or more, and it forcibly demonstrated, as nothing else has done before or since, the power of the trade union movement to establish and defend the colour bar in industry. Dr. van der Horst disposes of the event in a single page (p. 182). She fails to emphasize its very great significance or even the fact that although the miners lost the battle in 1922, they assuredly won the campaign for the colour bar. Evidence enough for that was the general election of 1924 and the legislation that followed it right up to 1939. Indeed, the grim fear of undercutting and unemployment that, rightly or wrongly, makes the trade unions insist on the colour bar against Native competition is scarcely mentioned, although it is emphatic enough in the labour view of the issue. "Would it not be more expedient," asks the author, "to allow the mines to maximise their taxable output, by adopting freely every cost-reducing innovation, and thus to maximise the contribution from taxes which the industry can make to the national exchequer, from which all social services should be financed?" If this means that we should

replace white workers by black, who accept lower wages, the answer to the question whether it is "expedient" to do so is no. There will surely be no solution to the problem of competition between black and white along these lines. Indeed, so far as this book is based on any such assumption, it is a monument to the past. The recent van Eck Report marks a turning-point in this as in other problems, by indicating quite different possibilities. The way to open industry wide to Natives is to plan its expansion to such an extent that it will readily absorb the Europeans as well as Natives who seek an entry into it. No prospect that realists can at present entertain in South Africa offers us better hope of dealing with the problem than that.

J.L.

A History of South Africa—Social and Economic. By C. W. DE KIEWIET. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1941. 292 pp. 16s.

This lively book is not an ordinary chronological history of South Africa, but a series of swift surveys of the main factors in its development.

Professor de Kiewiet insists throughout on his thesis—that the Black man, not the White, is the real subject of our history. As he puts it, "the great mass of the non-European population from which the White population is socially divided, towards which it is economically competitive, and of which it stands politically in fear."

In the Chapter, "Poor Whites and Poor Blacks," he has some very pertinent things to say on the social differences and the economic similarity between these two classes.

His analysis of the Anglo-Boer War is both penetrating and brilliant. Here is a specimen of his style: "Yet even as all railways and roads sought the gold-fields, so did all lesser problems and vexations resolve themselves into the direct questions: By what means, fair or foul, soon or late, bloody or peaceful, would the Transvaal and the States by which it was surrounded recognize that the gold-mines were South African gold-mines, that its White and Black labourers came from every corner of South Africa, that the Balkan mentality of Natal politicians, the superiority complex of the Cape, and the hothouse patriotism

of Transvaal politicians were making the land rank with intrigue, suspicion and plot? By what means could they be led to recognize that the gold and diamonds, railways and tariffs, race and language about which men quarrelled so endlessly were all the most cogent reasons for not quarrelling? When, in a phrase, would the unity be found without which no prosperity could be assured?"

This is not simply good writing; it is good sense and good history as well.

The book is not the fruit of first-hand study of the sources, all the sources; but it is nevertheless a valuable contribution to our history, by a scholar whose knowledge is built on solid foundations, and whose vivid and provocative presentation never fails to stimulate our interest.

LEO FOUCHÉ.

The Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia. Part II. By GODFREY WILSON. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Paper No. 6. 1942. 82 pp. 2s.

Those who read and enjoyed the first part of Dr. Wilson's paper will also appreciate the second part. The paper as a whole is interesting as being a departure from the usual anthropological method of describing a tribal group; it deals with a local economic situation in a world setting, one in which many tribes and three races are involved. Commentators have for years been aware of the disastrous effects of detribalization, but from Northern Rhodesia there have been only a few reliable and relevant facts and figures available. This paper, within its scope, gives scientific precision where previously there existed little more than rumour. Although the investigation was done in Broken Hill only, the position there is fairly typical of trends in all the urban areas of the colony.

The first part of the paper having dealt with the wide question of change from migrant labour to semi-stabilization, the author was free in the second part to describe in much greater detail the effects of various wage rates, rations, housing conditions, etc., on the actual standard of living and domestic economy of the Broken Hill African

population. Statistical tables are given to illustrate these, the budget of an average individual and the amount spent on various kind of extra food. The facts reveal that any workers receiving, in addition to quarters, less than 30s. a month in wages and rations must feel short of food. Over a third of those in employment in Broken Hill were receiving less than that amount, whereas commercial servants and domestic servants received less than half of the food they actually needed in the form of rations. Those with children were specially penalised.

Interesting facts and descriptions are given of changes in diet, clothing, beer drinking and the types of capital goods purchased by way of thrift. £2000 a year is spent by Africans in Broken Hill on white bread and flour, while the universal adoption of European clothes and the obvious desire to obtain clothes are an index to the keen Bantu desire to obtain status in the eyes of Europeans. The beer hall system of controlling beer drinking is described as well as various illegal brewing practices. The author has argued throughout the paper that the present social and economic anomalies in urban areas will disappear with the growth of stabilization; and here is a case in point. On the unstable copper belt the two illegalities of beer selling and brewing are rife, whereas comparatively stable Broken Hill has only to deal with the one latter problem which gives very little trouble. This is because Broken Hill mine senior labour is stabilised on plots; reducing drifting labour reduces the demand for purchasable beer.

This has taken us to the middle of Part II; the remainder (except a few pages at the end) is taken up by a description of "getting married." This begins with a very lucid account of customary Bemba marriage and re-marriage and continues with a detailed picture of getting married and re-married under the new urban conditions. In the course of the argument it becomes clear that the present loose sex relations are also due to the disequilibrium of the urban community. Shortage of women puts them at a premium and the absence of restraining elders makes it easy for women to circulate among the

many men seeking wives. The fact that today the young husband is involved in an impersonal world economy removes him from the circle of his father-in-law's workers, and so upsets the rural economy. Urban marriages are not really covered by Native customary law and special legislation for such cases would be a powerful force to make them more lasting.

Administrators, missionaries and compound managers who have to deal with African domestic differences should not miss an opportunity to study this account of such an important subject. The author has dealt with it in considerably more detail than many parts of the paper to the exclusion of burial (are there Burial Clubs in Broken Hill? They exist on the copper belt) and inheritance. One realises, however, the distinct limitations imposed upon an investigator working in private compounds.

Reports state that the Government of Northern Rhodesia contemplates instituting a comprehensive survey of urban stabilization. Dr. Wilson's study of Broken Hill indicates a movement in the direction of stabilization and might well form a basis for subsequent work.

R. MOORE.

A Study of African Income and Expenditure in 987 Families in Johannesburg. By MIRIAM JANISCH. Johannesburg: *City Non-European and Native Affairs Department*. 1941. 57 pp. 2s. 6d.

This monograph contains the results of a survey conducted in 1940 by the Social Research Officer of the Non-European and Native Affairs Department of the Municipality of Johannesburg. Facilities for social investigation are limited in South Africa, and consequently a high standard is demanded from those who enjoy opportunities for conducting such research. It seems a pity that more rigorous methods were not used in order to attain this standard in the work under review.

The object of the survey was to collect the facts of income and expenditure amongst African families. The reliability of the results can be assessed by examining (i) the representative

nature of the sample population selected, (ii) the method of obtaining the desired information in order that maximum accuracy be ensured, and (iii), the analysis and description of the data obtained.

The survey was not intended to represent a random sample of urban African households; it was confined to those Africans resident in three of the four urban townships under the control of the municipal Native Affairs Department. It therefore deals with those who "live in better conditions as far as housing and other amenities are concerned, than those . . . not under jurisdiction of the Municipality" (p. 4). In addition, since the condition of tenancy of houses in a municipal location is continuous employment of the main wage-earner in the city for not less than two years, it is likely that the group dealt with in this survey represents a highly urbanised selection. The method by which Miss Janisch chose the actual households in these areas for the purpose of her survey appears to have been too fortuitous. She merely questioned those people who came to make rent payments or excuse themselves for partial or total non-payment, at the rent receipt offices of each township. Three-quarters of the evidence was therefore supplied by rent defaulters, while the estimated number of householders who were in arrear with rentals during 1940 was 83 per cent in Orlando, 40 per cent in Eastern Native Township, and 48 per cent in Western Native Township. It would have been preferable to have selected the sample in an alternative way, thus avoiding the possibility of "loading" the survey with a disproportionate number of defaulters.

Information was secured by the direct questioning of the member of the household visiting the office. Family budget information obtained by the questionnaire method is unavoidably crude and inaccurate; particularly is this the case when information relates to a group existing under extremely unfavourable economic conditions, characterised by an inevitable lack of budgetary planning and economic instability. In addition, Miss Janisch draws attention to other sources of possible inaccuracy due to the ever-

changing number in the household, the under-estimation of income derived from sub-tenants, and the lack of information about money derived from sources such as illicit brewing of beer.

The main points of interest which emerge from this study are the following: The average income of the 987 households investigated was £5. 6s. 8d. per month, of which 77.1 per cent was contributed by the husband, 13.5 per cent by the wife, 7.5 per cent by the children and 1.7 per cent by the sub-tenants. The average monthly expenditure amounted to £5. 11s., which figure reveals a deficit which must be made up by illicit means or by debt. Approximately 92 per cent of the average income is spent on food, rent, fuel and light, transport and clothes, which items constitute the necessities of life¹. Almost half the average income is laid out on food, 18 per cent on rent, 13 per cent on fuel and light, and 6 per cent on transport. The expenditure on fuel and light is exceptionally high due to the lack of electricity.

The monograph lacks adequate statistical material to give support to numerous passing observations and statements made in the text. Particularly is this the case when we read, in flat contradiction to Engelos' Law and recent budgetary analysis, that "there is no consistent relation between the size of the family, the wage earned and the amount of food consumed" (p. 12). From Appendix VI, which gives the raw data for total income, total expenditure on food for one hundred and eighty-two households comprising five members, the reviewer finds the following:—

Monthly Household Income.	No. of Cases.	Average Monthly Food Expenditure.
Under £3.	19	£2 5s. 11d.
£3—£5.	62	£2 10s. 5d.
£5—£7.	67	£2 13s. 9d.
£7—£9.	24	£3 5s. 11d.
Above £9.	10	£3 11s. 0d.

Total 182

From this table it appears that a rise in income is definitely associated with an increase in food

¹ Although this figure is not directly comparable with that found in 1936 by the Government in their "Inquiry into the Expenditure of European Families in certain urban areas," it is interesting to note that in European families with an income of less than £175 per year, 81 per cent of their income was devoted to expenditure on necessities.

expenditure. Upon what basis Miss Janisch comes to the contrary conclusion is unknown.

Miss B. E. Smith, Housecraft Organiser in the Department, calculates a minimum diet costing £4. 8s. per month to meet the needs of a family consisting of a labourer, his wife and three children. From the table printed above, it is evident that not even those families possessing an income above £9 per month spend the required amount on food. It is therefore evident that the present income level of the average household is grossly insufficient to meet these minimum food requirements. It is to be expected, therefore, that Dr. F. W. Fox in his interesting and careful appendix on the diet of these families, shows grave deficiencies in most dietetic constituents, even when compared with that recommended as a "marginal" standard for an adult male.

The monograph would have been of greater value if the survey had been planned more scientifically, if it had presented a greater wealth of data relevant to the inquiry, omitted many assertions embodying the unsubstantiated opinion of the writer, and been couched in less ambiguous language.

Catalogue of Bantu, Khoisan and Malagasy in the Strange Collection of Africanas, edited by ANNA H. SMITH. Johannesburg: Public Library: (roneod) pp. 232; 1942.

This catalogue is a valuable collection of over 1600 linguistic items, many of which are of interest to students of African (principally Bantu) languages. After dealing with general and comparative items, the Bantu languages are dealt with in turn. First under "Eastern Bantu" are some 50 heads, then under "Southern Bantu" some 33 heads, and under "North-western Bantu" some 20 heads. Naturally this classification proves to be by no means adequate. One finds, for instance, "Central Bantu" Bemba, Mambwe, Bisa, etc. among "Eastern," and other "Central Bantu," such as Ila and Tonga, among "Southern Bantu"; while there should have been no excuse for including Kongo and even Yombe ("Kiyombe") among the "Southern." Of course the

classification of the Bantu languages is by no means completed yet, but we have gone far beyond even Johnston's classification and recognise North-western, Northern, Congo, Eastern, Central, South-eastern and Western Bantu zones as a basic division, with a number of intermediate positions as well.

Then again there is insufficient clearness in some sub-headings, for instance Unguja ("Kiu-nguja") and Lamu ("Kiamu") are dialects of Swahili and should not have been separated from it. One does not see the reason for separating "Tswana Group" from "Tswana" on pages 62 and 87. "Sengwe" on page 49 should read "Hlengwe". A really bad mistake was to include a Soli item (No. 461, spoken in the Lusaka district of Northern Rhodesia) under the heading of Tswa, spoken near Inhambane of Portuguese East Africa. Tswa belongs to the South-eastern Zone and Soli to the West-central Zone. I think, too, it is a little hard on Zulu to burden her with the responsibility for the "Kitchen-Kafir" items (Nos. 1142 and 1144); Bantu think they are speaking the "White-man's language" when they speak Kitchen-Kafir! Kaonde ("Kahonde," No. 1536) and Hemba (1537) are both Luba dialects. The more usual name for "Panwe" (p. 169) in English parlance is Fang. These and a few more similar criticisms are points of detail which can be rectified in a later edition—when perhaps our present tentative classification will have been further emended; what is of value is that the catalogue has been prepared, and we now know what books the Strange collection has.

This collection includes some interesting manuscripts, an English-Zulu Vocabulary of the '50's of last century and Wurtz's Swahili-Tikuu-Pokomo Vocabulary among them. The arrangement into the three main groups, under each language, of "Language," "Pure Literature" and "Subject Literature" is good. A complete index to Languages, Authors, and Titles (of over 50 pages) makes up for much of the deficiency in the classification.

The editress is to be congratulated on this painstaking piece of work.

C.M.D.

The Bored Stones of Southern Africa. Part I. Bantu Specimens. By A. J. H. GOODWIN. University of Cape Town: *Communications from the School of African Studies. New Series. No. 1. 1942. 22 pp. (revised). 2s.*

Bored stones have always fired the imaginations of South Africans. Early travellers noted their occurrence and use in the Cape and in the course of time they were found in comparative abundance in the interior—especially in the basins of the Orange and Vaal rivers and in the upper reaches of the Komati.

Numerous publications in scientific journals and the commercial press bear testimony to the general interest shown in a stone implement that is known to occur in some form or another in many parts of the world—the New as well as the Old. Most of these have centred on the possible use or uses to which the stone was put. Its origin, its possible ceremonial as well as its utilitarian uses have been discussed almost *ad nauseam*—not only in the case of “Bushman” specimens but also in the case of “Bantu” types.

The latest contribution has struck an entirely new and most welcome note. It is a survey of all known specimens in the Union and the author has divided his “Survey” into two parts. In the first he deals with Bantu specimens only and three particularly important conclusions are reached:

- (1) The area in which Bantu specimens occur is confined to the Transvaal,
- (2) All specimens from this area with a diameter in excess of 15.1 cms. are “Bantu” and
- (3) Very few Bantu specimens have been found below the 2500 ft. contour. “This curious relationship between altitude and bored stones” (i.e. Bantu types) “in this particular area” (i.e. the Transvaal) “can imply only one thing, namely that we are dealing with a mixed pastoral and agricultural people, limited strictly by the distribution of the tse-tse fly and cattle nagana.”

The author also discusses modes of manufacture, the use and the users of the implement and concludes by attributing it to various early cattle-keeping, Bantu-speaking peoples among whom he numbers the BaRoko, BaKoni, MaTlala and BaTau. He excludes the BaPedi and BaVenda.

Tables of illuminating measurements are given. From these the histograms, to which the author repeatedly refers, may be constructed, but one regrets the omission of graphs that would undoubtedly have made the paper easier to read and follow. Nevertheless, Mr. Goodwin is to be congratulated on a notable contribution to a difficult subject and we look forward to the sequel on Bushman specimens with interest.

C. VAN RIET LOWE.

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